

THE GOLDEN MOUTH

The Golden Rule Against the Golden Rule

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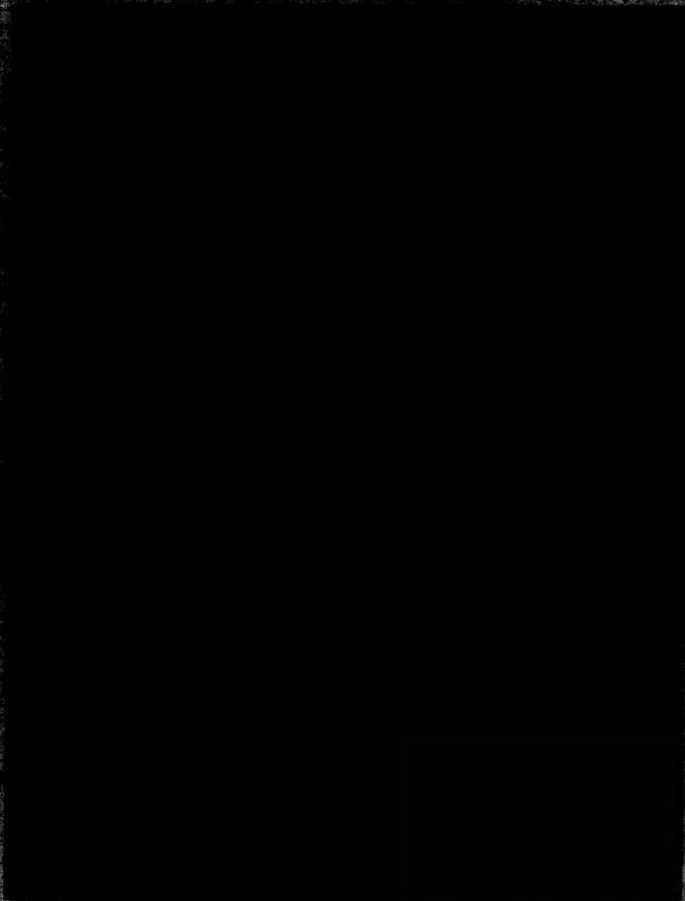
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"A drought once overtook our city, and all were trembling for the last of evils. But afterwards, beyond expectation there was wafted down from heaven a great and plentiful rain, and thenceforth all were in holiday and feasting. But in the midst of so many and great blessings, one of these exceedingly wealthy people, with a gloomy and downcast countenance, went about quite dead with sorrow. And when many inquired the reason, he declared: 'Why, having in my possession ten thousand measures of wheat, I have no means of disposing of them left.' Hast thou not heard what Solomon saith: 'He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him?' Doth not that tongue deserve to be cut out, and the heart to be pierced, that brought forth these words? Seest thou how gold doth not suffer men to be men, but wild beasts and fowls? For what can be more pitiful than this rich man, whose daily prayer is that there may be famine, in order that he may have more gold?—John of the Golden Mouth.



John of the Golden Mouth



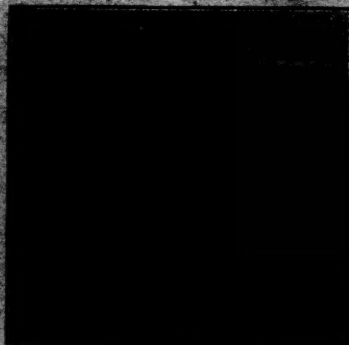
JOHN OF THE GOLDEN MOUTH PREACHING IN HIS CATHEDRAL
Drawn by Nelson Gardner



Interior of Saint Sophia

Constantinople, where the gate of the city is still standing against the assaults of the Turks, is the place where he conducted the bones of the greatest Christian teacher, the John Chrysostom, patriarch of the East. If Saint Sophia, most splendid of churches, shall again become Christian after five centuries as a Turkish mosque, let us try to make sure that another John of the Golden Mouth shall be found to preach again in it as fearlessly as did the ancient Saint whose dust lies under its shifting dome, sixteen centuries old.

*Life Story of
the Hero
of
Constantinople.
John
Chrysostom,*



Turkish Ports Guarding the Straits

*Greatest of
Christian So-
cialist Orators
Is Told on
page seven
of
this issue.*

"But how can he who is rich, be a good man? When he distributes his riches, he is good; so that he is good when he has come to have it, when he gives it to others; but whilst he keeps it himself, he is not good. How then is that a good which being retained renders men evil, being parted with makes them good? No! Therefore to have wealth, but to have it not, makes one appear to be good. Wealth therefore is not a good."—"How is it possible that wealth should not be gained wrongfully? To grow rich without injustice is impossible."—John of the Golden Mouth.

It is to the trained social workers of the organized charities of today that we must turn for our social work under Socialism. We seek to free them from the dominance of private power, governed by will, and subject to odds with the public interest. They are being trained by private charity to serve the ends of public justice. Let us keep their visions clear to the ultimate hope, and while they pursue the immediate necessity of succoring the wounded, let us strive to end the war.

TRUSTIFIED BENEVOLENCE

Organized philanthropy is today the one great industry that remains absolutely unregulated, either by private conscience or public control. For the last twelve years, from 1903 to 1914, the recorded benefactions in the United States have averaged about \$150,000,000 per year. The total for this period aggregates nearly two billion dollars. It is safe to estimate that if all the resources of organized philanthropy were known it would be found to control \$500,000,000 a year. This is nearly as much as the Federal Government spends for all purposes, including the army and navy.

The system of interlocking directorates is as highly developed in the Twenty-second street district of New York (the home of the Charity Organization Society) as it ever was in the Wall street district. A few names dominate organized charity in New York—Jacob H. Schiff, Robert W. De Forest, Edward T. Devine, Otto T. Bannard, Seth Low, J. P. Morgan, Jr., Fulton Cutting, Cornelius N. Bliss, John M. Glenn.

Over all tower the three great foundations established by Sage, Carnegie and Rockefeller. It is the expressed policy of these foundations to expend their funds chiefly in the form of grants to other philanthropic organizations. This means that they can starve any existing organization into submission by endowing a competing organization.

Social service has become a profession. Every other profession has its standard of ethics. Yet the Church of the Ascension, New York City, called a meeting of social workers in June, 1913, to discuss the ethics of the profession of social worker. It was completely and unanimously boycotted by all of them.

What would social workers have said of lawyers, doctors or ministers who refused to face the most elementary ethical questions of their professions?—Julian Leavitt, in April Pearson's.

WAGES AND CHARITY

Prof. Scott Nearing, professor of Economics in the University of Pennsylvania, says in the April Pearson's Magazine:

"All of these figures lead to the general conclusion that in the industries of the United States lying east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Mason and Dixon line, half of the adult males in American industries receive less than \$600 a year, that three-fourths are paid less than \$750 a year, while nine-tenths earn a wage under \$1,000 a year.

"In the industrial cities of the northeastern United States, the cost of a decent standard of living for a family consisting of a man, wife and three young children, varies from \$750 to \$1,000.

"It therefore appears that three-fourths of the adult males in this territory are paid less than enough to support a family on any scale, and nine-tenths of them are paid less than enough to support a family on a decent scale of living."

Meanwhile Organized Charity controls five hundred million dollars a year, which is given by the comparatively few very wealthy persons. If Organized Charity were to raise the demand for Social Justice, much of its income would automatically cease.

ROCKEFELLER'S FOUNDATION IS MENACE TO NATION, SAYS WALSH

Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the federal industrial relations commission which has been investigating the great philanthropic foundations, declared at Kansas City, that John D. Rockefeller Sr. dominates the Rockefeller foundation, which can apply the enormous power of the money it controls to almost any purpose it chooses.

"The testimony at the New York hearing," Mr. Walsh said, "showed that the trustees of

the foundation exercised no authority that did not come from him.

"The powers of the foundation virtually are unlimited, as are its financial resources. They are powers which should challenge the attention of every thoughtful American citizen.

"Whether such powers can be permitted safely in the hands of any authority less than that of the government of the United States is a question which will form an important part of the commission's forthcoming report. I believe these powers cannot be exercised under the American theory of government."

INDUSTRIAL VICTIMS UNIONIZING

Capitalism's manifold horrors never received clearer illustration than in the organization of two new unions, the "Fraternal Order of Blind Men," in Pittsburgh, Pa., and the "Industrial Victims' Association," in Chicago. In the mines, blast furnaces and steel works in and around Pittsburgh, many hundred men are annually blinded. Their loss of sight is a part of the "risks of employment" which are understood by the law to be assumed by them. These men have organized themselves into a union for mutual protection and support. They peddle small articles on the street, do various small jobs which do not require eyesight so much as adept fingers, and stand by one another in general.

The Industrial Victims' Association is a new organization, of which Charles W. Winfield is secretary. Its objects are stated in the card issued by the association as follows:

"To secure legislation to alleviate the condition of the cripple.

"To find ways and means of aiding the cripple to secure vocational training so he or she may be self-supporting.

"To do anything possible to secure employment for the cripple.

"In general—Social Justice for the thousands of victims of accidents.

"Any one crippled in any way is eligible for membership. Also any one believing in aiding the cripple to be self-sustaining is eligible to honorary membership."

Nothing more pathetic or more encouraging has come to us in a long while. These organizations are worthy of all help. The Fraternal Order of Blind Men may be reached at 904 Century Building, Pittsburgh, and the Industrial Victims' Association at 1936 West Harrison street, Chicago.

"A RAID ON THE BAKERIES"

Rev. Charles F. Carson

One of the editors of *The Christian Socialist* was recently rather harshly criticised by a Baltimore clergyman because he had, it was alleged, urged a "raid upon the bakeries" by the hungry unemployed. The criticism was based upon a misconception of the words criticised, and yet it might be well to consider some very essential points which are usually ignored in discussing the ethics of such "raids."

When Patten carried out his wheat corner some years ago, it was a "raid upon the bakeries!" He wasn't hungry himself, but he took bread from the mouths of thousands who were. Who protested? Should this crime upon society be perpetuated by the authority of law?

Because Mr. Hearst is a successful editor in New York City he is allowed to gain possession of millions of acres in Southern California, thereby depriving of bread those other people who live in Southern California and must pay tribute to Mr. Hearst if they would earn bread upon that land. Who would say that his right to that land is such that it should be perpetuated in his heirs forever? The very most that can be said for him is that he has paid for it with his "wisdom in counsel." And there is an old saying that "advice is cheap!" We must not blind ourselves to the essentials of social welfare.

Because Successful Lumberman Weyerhaeuser chose to take advantage of being first upon the ground, his heirs and assigns control some 40,000,000 acres of our best timber land, valued now at possibly \$1,500,000,000, which is the equivalent of the earnings of the average American citizen for a million and a half years. This is a "raid upon the bakeries" of the United States. Who thinks its consequences should receive the authorization of the law forever? Who thinks it possible that either Mr. Weyerhaeuser or his heirs and assigns could have given any benefit to society to balance this vast privilege? He himself was a capable financier, but we have no guaranty that some of his grandchildren will not be idiots—and yet our present laws will compel those yet unborn to pay tribute to those idiotic descendants of the financier. And that tribute will beaped not upon the present valuation but upon a vaster sum, for any surplus capital will double itself at 4 per cent compound interest in less than eighteen years. Is that tribute to be levied by a principle eternally right?

All over this broad land we find landed estates covering millions of acres apiece, whose owners can have no possible purpose in retaining possession, except that purpose be to prey upon their fellow men. Should that purpose be favored by law till the end of time?

To make the argument brief: The "raids upon the bakeries" have already been going on for some time with the full approbation of those who call themselves Christian. Now, if good Christians are to uphold the underhanded methods of the stock gambler when he plays with the bread of his fellows, why should Christians condemn the same action by the ordinary human being who tries to take back by violence what has been taken from him by fraud?

The Baltimore clergyman is like a great many other people in the United States who condemn violence—but only when it is resorted to by those who have been driven to desperation by the concealment of violence of others. They should protest against the "raids upon the bakeries" by those who "did it first!" Only thus can they clear the way for social evolution and "fulfill the law of Christ"—the law of brotherly love.

THE ROOT OF PHILANTHROPY

Christopher Easton in *The Survey*

My grandfather was an English bricklayer, and the only thing that enabled my father to become a clergyman and myself a social worker was his fortunate investment in some New York tenement property.

My father's culture and my own education were paid for by the meager earnings of New York's tenement dwellers. Yet I can recall that in my graduation oration at the preparatory school I voiced the sentiment that each one's advancement depended upon his own exertions. I entered the field of social service as executive secretary of a New England charity.

In visiting the homes of the poor I found some frightful housing conditions. On inquiry I discovered that most of these houses were owned by either the president of our association and his father and son-in-law (the latter our treasurer) or by the chairman of our finance committee. Our president was an able lawyer, but the poor who had had experience of his merciless actions mistrusted him in his new role of philanthropist. This man and I fell out over a newspaper letter which I wrote in criticism of a new and vicious charter proposal which he happened to be interested in, and my career with that organization ended. But my own later experiences with capitalist-philanthropists, and those of many other social workers would, if related, only duplicate the above.

Hearken to our pleading; do not be a Dub.
Be a charter member of the STAR-SUB CLUB!

Socialism and Charity

By Rev. Charles G. Girelius

Secretary Children's Charities of New Jersey

I have been asked by Socialists, "Will works of charity cure humanity's ills?" I have been asked by social workers, "What does Socialism propose to do with the problems of caring for the poor and needy and helpless and defective and dependent?" I find myself occupying a somewhat anomalous position; for on the one hand, as a social worker, I have had something to do with works of charity, while as a Socialist, on the other hand, I have come to have but little patience with mere philanthropic activity.

The fact is I find no final solution for social problems in works of charity. Works of charity relieve actual distress, and it is necessary that we relieve distress; but works of charity are only palliatives that must be superseded by a more drastic remedy ere humanity shall attain unto social salvation.

Sometimes our works of charity do great harm. They save the consciences of those who bestow charity, making them think they are doing a great work, when in reality they are merely preventing the doing of a more effective work. They humiliate the recipients of charity, often adding moral distress to the physical distress they seek to relieve. Sometimes our works of charity are founded on wrong. Our charities are bestowed by many who have forgotten first of all to be just.

"If you can afford to do so much for the poor," said Tolstoi, "you must have robbed them pretty thoroughly first." John D. Rockefeller, Jr., says he supposes that his father has given about \$250,000,000 to philanthropy, and Carnegie claims that he has given \$325,000,000.

"Above all things have fervent charity among yourselves," said the Apostle Peter. "For charity shall cover the multitude of sins," giving utterance to what he intended to be a profound truth. What he had in mind was a feeling of consideration, forgiveness, forbearance, and goodwill that is ever ready to overlook the faults and sins of others. But that word charity has lost its high character—it has lost its religion, so to speak—so much so that in the Revised Version the word charity here has been discarded, and we now read, "love covereth a multitude of sins."

The fact is that charity, from having been applied so largely to inconsistent works of charity, has come to cover not merely "a multitude of sins," as the Apostle thought, but also a multitude of shame and hypocrisies. For instance, I have before me a newspaper account of a fashion show, conducted in charity's sweet name:

Posing for Charity

"Thirty-two of this city's most charming society women, posing in gowns designed and made in this country, furnished the climax for the 'Made-in-America' bazaar in the Ritz-Carlton Hotel last night.

"Before an audience composed of leaders of fashion, these 'society models' appeared on the temporary stage in the ballroom, walked to and fro like professional models, to exhibit the lines of their frocks, and then passed down the aisle through the audience.

"Applause greeted the models at every step, and in the voting contest after the exhibition the spectators expressed their approval of the models and the costumes they wore, to the extent of many, many 10-cent pieces, for every vote cost 10 cents.

"There was no restriction on the voting, except the time limit, and so one eyed how many votes were cast, for each vote meant additional funds for the tremendous charity which the affair represented. The funds are to be devoted to the relief of women and children sufferers from the European war, both in this country and abroad.

"The fashion show, as it was called, was the chief event of an entertainment which began Monday in Horticultural Hall with a bazaar, and in which a pet dog show, an ambulance ball, and the Arabian Nights entertainment on Wednesday night were all a part. Each attraction was more enjoyable than

its predecessor, and nothing too much can be said of last night's event."—Phil. North Amer., Dec. 18, 1914.

Here we have the "lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the vain glory of life" all parading in the name of sweet charity. These women and many others like them have made charity a mockery, until the poor hate the very word charity. Card parties, balls, concerts, theatrical performances held for the benefit of charity are an abomination before God, and are to be regarded with wholesome contempt by all self-respecting red-blooded mortals. I saw recently in one of our church papers an indignant protest against baseball games and theatrical performances held on Sunday for the benefit of charity, on the ground that they are a desecration of the Sabbath. I would file an equally indignant protest against baseball games and theatrical performances for the benefit of charity on any day of the week, on the ground that they are a desecration of human brotherhood!

So it has come to pass that the word charity, once endowed with loftiest meaning, is in disgrace. Not all works of charity, of course, are of the sort I have described. There has been, and still is, much genuine giving to most worthy causes, and some of it is done with great sacrifice. While present conditions prevail there must needs be charity. "The poor ye have always with you,"—so long as ye have the present social order. The present regime is a regime of injustice; for it does not permit hardworking men and women to get what they earn. It only permits men and women, whether hardworking or not, to grab whatever may be within grabbing reach. Merit and service, as such, do not count on the market; what does count on the market is the ability to exploit others and a chance to lose a bargain. It is every man for himself, and in the struggle some of us must go to the wall—just as surely as some soldiers must fall on the field of battle. We have been reading in the papers about the immense amount of farm products raised in the United States during the year 1914, reaching a value of ten billion dollars and breaking all previous records. As a result of that record there ought to be plenty in the land, food should be cheap and abundant, and none should be turned empty away, if willing to work. But these farm products, under our present regime, are not destined to be distributed directly and cheaply to the consumer. From the commercial point of view, farm products are in the sight of God intended to be speculated with, and handled and re-handled, and cornered and squandered, until values are multiplied and merchants grow fat, and the nation becomes glorious by reason of its mighty millionaires.

Roots of the Breadline

In the trail of commercialism stalks poverty—a poverty grim and hideous—a poverty that has been increasing and not lessening, in spite of all philanthropic endeavor. Persistently come reports of increasing numbers of the unemployed. Organized Charities report increasing numbers of applicants for help. I do not need to tell you about this. And then there are the bread lines. Here is just one of them: On Christmas eve last 600 shivering men, down and out, gaunt and unshaven, with the hunger look on their faces all blue with the cold, stood in the bread line at the Insomuch Mission in Philadelphia; and these were but a few of the multitude who have no other prospect left but to beg for the doles of charity. Nor can we say of these that they have only themselves to blame. Of some of them no

doubt that is true, but not of all. Mr. J. P. Dunn, who had charge of the distribution of bread and coffee at the Insomuch Mission, is reported to have said:

"About 60 per cent of the men you see are honest in their endeavor to obtain employment. But they simply can't get it. They have the stamp of the down-and-out, and that handicaps them right at the start."

I admit that Mr. Dunn's judgment regarding these men may not have been as discriminating as might be desired. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that we have here evidence justifying the point I am trying to make; namely, that poverty follows directly in the trail of commercialism. These men of the bread line may or may not be honest in their endeavor to obtain employment, but that is not to the point, as I shall endeavor to show. You say these men are themselves to blame, that if they had always been ambitious and industrious they would never have come to this. That is easily said, but not so easily proved. You say if only they had let drink alone they would never have come to this. But I am not satisfied with that conclusion either. No doubt most of them have done their share of drinking. They would probably take their fill of drink now if they had a chance. I would myself if I were in their place, and so would you. But there is usually something back of the drink, and there is something back of that reluctance to work which characterizes the down-and-outer.

What of Their Childhood?

Now I am thinking of the children who had to go to school hungry, say about twenty-five years ago—that is, about the time when some of these men were school children. These children were neglected at home, as we certainly know thousands of children were, for there are thousands of neglected children now. Their parents were out of work possibly, or they were the same down-and-out class we have today. Or they were self-respecting people who were unfortunate, because of death or illness or failure to hold their own in the fierce struggle of life, and would not quite allow themselves to reach that point of desperate privation where they could seek the aid of charity.

So the children went hungry to school, and they could not grasp their lessons as they should. They were sick, and they did not receive the medical attention they should have had. They had little chance to learn, they did not develop either mentally or physically as they should, and they did not keep up with the rest—albeit I dare say they received exhortations enough urging them to become self-made men and women, and to aim at least as high as the office of President.

Now I can't help recalling that some of these neglected children who were growing up a few years ago are in that bread line today.

Toilers of the Mills

I am thinking also of those children that toiled in the mills about twenty-five years ago—again, say, about the time some of these men of the bread line were children. I have seen children in the mills, though not quite that far back. They were compelled to bear upon their frail shoulders more than their share of industry's burden. Therefore their bodies never grew fully strong, and their souls became stunted. They were half worn out before they began to become men and women, and they were never trained for life and life's truer work. They experienced long wearying drudgery, and they despaired of life before they discovered what life is. They grew

We have discovered a Christian virtue higher than charity, for charity is but temporary relief and not a permanent cure. Whenever any man takes the position that he does not want to be an object of charity, but the recipient of justice, he is doing a high position. When he demands reason and justice he is preaching our Gospel, and we must be ready to go arm with him. —William C. P. Anderson, of Chicago.

For the Good Samaritans of private charity who seek to bind up the wounds of the smitten wayfarer, we have but fellowship. But we strongly object when professional Good Samaritans organize to prevent our public policing of the road to Jericho. It is good to help the wounded; it is better to prevent the wounds. Private Charity is the Good Samaritan; Socialism will make safe the Roads.

up, they married, and they had children. But they did not know how to establish a home, nor had they the means to do it with. They could not keep children from coming, and they did not know what to do with them when they came. The wife and mother had learned to work in the mill, but she had not learned to cook and sew; and therefore she couldn't make a decent dress, and she could not cook an appetizing meal. Then the husband, worried by an unsatisfied craving for food, took to drink naturally enough; and the woman took to drink, too, and then there was hell in the house. Drink finished the ruin of that family, yes; but there was something back of the drink. And you, my smug friend, are you sure you could have done any better if you had started to work in a mill as a child and had married a mill girl in the bargain?

What I am getting at is this: Some of those child workers of twenty-five years ago are in that bread line today.

Industry's Fearful Cost

But we do not have to consider merely the child workers. Take the whole world of labor and business through and through, and we see industry's fearful cost in flesh and blood. And that cost in flesh and blood spells incompetence, lack of opportunity, and poverty. We have a few so-called "model shops" where working conditions are wholesome, and where men are decently treated and paid wages approximately fair; but these are the exception. The great mass of laborers are exploited for the benefit of owners and stockholders who care little for flesh and blood and soul, but do care a great deal for dividends.

I have watched men and women coming out of a factory at the end of a day's work, and I have watched them with aching heart, for their faces looked withered, their forms were stooped, their souls found no expression in the eye, and they have become aged in middle life. These men have produced wealth. Their labor has made others rich. But for themselves they have gained no satisfaction. Their wages have only been sufficient barely to maintain the doubtful blessing of animal existence. They are so worn out, many of them, that they cannot propagate a vigorous offspring. Their children inherit a depleted vitality. Now I am sure some of these worn out men are in the bread line today. I do not have the proof in the exact data that I wish were possible. I am depending on those obvious evidences that show the direction of the current—the workers' prematurely stooped shoulders, the weariness written on their faces and the lessened stature of their offspring.

The Cost of Output

I wish we had some way to ascertain the full cost of a factory's output. We may know something about the financial cost, the money invested, the raw materials used, the salaries and wages paid.

But we know little about the cost of a factory's output in terms of the life consumed in terms of blood and flesh—and soul! Industry must pay dividends on the money invested; BUT WHAT IF DIVIDENDS HAD TO BE PAID TO THE WORKERS ON THE FLESH AND BLOOD AND SOUL THEY SPEND! We simply do not know the cost of any factory's output in terms of life, and those who govern our industries and our finances do not want us to know. We do know that the cost must be fearful. The cry of anguish that we hear tells us that.

The Cost of Industry

I look upon the children who have been driven to toil altogether too young, and upon their wasted souls, and I say—that is part of the cost!

I look upon men broken in body and soul, their spirits and all their higher aspirations quenched by their heavy toil, and I say—that is part of the cost!

I look upon the women carrying their bur-

den too, and bearing children besides to make more toilers, and say—that is part of the cost.

I look upon poverty, and all the suffering and despair that goes with poverty, and the warped and marred souls of the toilers, and I say—there you will find the cost of the factory's output. How great is that cost I am not going to tell you, for I do not know, and for the present I cannot know. The masters of the present regime will not permit me to find out. And right here is the one fearful sin of which the modern world is guilty—the sin of not being willing to calculate the cost of the factory's output in terms of flesh and blood and soul.

The reason for this sin is that modern industry cannot afford to pay dividends on the flesh and blood and soul expended. It can only afford to pay dividends on the money expended. Should industry as at present organized attempt to pay dividends on the flesh and blood and soul used up, it would become bankrupt at once. Nevertheless the cost cannot be disregarded. The cost must be paid, or bankruptcy must follow. Social bankruptcy does follow; and the bankrupt are the workers who break down in the fearful struggle, and the children who are not even permitted to begin life aright. The bread line, the hosts of the unemployed, and the multitudes applying for charity I am therefore compelled to regard as evidences of this social bankruptcy.

Philanthropy Is Helpless.

Philanthropy, therefore, can never cope with the problems of poverty. The great bulk of poverty is produced by the very system under which we live and work. "The poor ye have with you always"—yes—while that system lasts. Our philanthropy does not prevent poverty; it does not reach back to the causes of poverty. Our charities attempt to relieve distress.

Charity helps the down-and-out; it does not prevent others from becoming down-and-out. It relieves one family in its poverty and degradation, and may even lift that family out of its degradation. But all the while this is being done, another family is plunged into degradation by economic pressure. Thus our present mode of industry creates distress, our philanthropy relieves distress, and the process will go on in a grim circle forever—if we tolerate the present system.

My own work has been given somewhat to the rescue of homeless and otherwise unfortunate children; and I am convinced that there is no worthier charity than that of the various societies and institutions that are devoted to the care of dependent children. But the work sometimes brings despair to my soul. We must needs save, if we can, those children that are cast adrift in this great social swirl of things. But we are not saving other children from being cast adrift. I find myself standing at the bottom, as it were, of some steep slope. The children are falling down from above; and we are trying to rescue them after they are hurt—those who by this time are not past helping. But we are not reaching, by even so worthy a charity as this, those evil economic forces above that are using up the children and throwing them over. At this rate there is no end to the work we are doing. We may go on rescuing child victims forever; and for all we are doing to prevent it the child victims will keep on coming just the same. Philanthropy cannot cope with the problem.

Cannot Even Relieve

Nor can philanthropy even relieve distress to any satisfactory extent. It relieves only the merest fraction of distress. Besides, to receive charity is in itself a distress—except to those who have lived on charity so long that they are hardened to it. There is little blessedness in "Charity," either to him who gives or to him who receives. The words, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," were never meant to apply to the kind of giving we are now considering. The smug satisfaction with which many people regard their gifts to

charity is actually a fearful detriment to their souls. I have smiled sadly as I have watched some of our well-to-do citizens bestowing Christmas dinners on the poor. All that is good so far as it goes. I have done a little of it myself; but I have never gloated over it. Of course, I could not find fault with people who furnish the poor with Christmas dinners. The fault I have to find has to do with the sad fact that this charitably-given Christmas dinner is the only decent dinner multitudes of the poor ever have. Looking the fact squarely in the face, there is something terribly sad in the idea of having to provide Christmas dinners at all to the poor.

Tell me, you who never hesitate to spend a dollar for lunch every day of your life, and who have on occasion tossed into the box of some Salvation Army Santa Claus a few coins toward Christmas dinners for the poor—tell me how you would like to be reduced to a condition where you could have a decent dinner only when the dinner is bestowed by charity?

There are two classes of people who ought to be spanked, not to mention several others—first, the well-to-do who never do anything for the poor at Christmas time; secondly, those who think they have done a big thing when they have provided a Christmas dinner for a poor family, or even for a hundred poor families. They have done nothing!

Do not plume yourself, then, after you have done an act of charity, as though you had done a great Christian act, and had heaped up merit for your soul to draw on in the day of Judgment. You will be terribly disappointed, if you do. Keep on with your charity, by all means. Present social conditions being what they are, charity must for a season continue to be a necessary evil. Go on with your work of charity—but go at it with rebellion in your soul and with righteous indignation against an industrial system which produces so hideous an output of misery.

What Is the Solution?

But to criticize charity and philanthropy is one thing. I have undertaken to do something more than merely to criticize. I am to show, if possible, what actual solution Socialism has to offer for the problems of caring for the needy and distressed and dependent and defective.

First of all, in order that we may clear the way for the more fundamental idea of Socialism, let me say that so far as the practical relieving of existing need is concerned, the Socialists will probably proceed along lines very similar to those followed by modern social workers. The establishment of Socialism would mean no abrupt change in this regard. Society will not recover at once from its dire disease of poverty, and its incompetents will continue to be with us for a long time after the establishment of Socialism. Our trained and experienced social workers will be in no danger of losing their jobs as soon as Socialism small come into power. They will prove very useful to the Socialist cause. I suspect that they will find themselves appreciated as they are not now, and will be given an opportunity for constructive work such as they are not even dreaming of at present.

No Private Charities Under Socialism

Socialism, however, will not tolerate private charities to any extent. Socialism regards the work of helping the poor and needy and helpless and abnormal and dependent as a burden that should rest on the entire community. Socialism proposes to put an end to the business of depending on individuals to provide for the needy. Socialism demands that the community shall have self-respect and self-respect requires that the community shall take care of its own poor and helpless, and do it generously.

On the whole, then, Socialism does not offer anything radically unique so far as the relief of need and distress is concerned—except that we do not intend to depend on private

(Continued on page 9)

The Gathering at Baltimore

Ninth General Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship of America Baltimore, Md., Feb. 23 to 28, 1915

As we Marylanders look back to this Conference we cannot fail to realize the force of Shakespeare's words: "Parting is such sweet sorrow." Our closing business session was indeed like an Apostolic love-feast, for we gathered around the platform and sang Comrade Harvey P. Moyer's songs of hope with a fervor born of the earnest conviction that God is with us and our success is assured. The presence of Comrade Moyer as our musical leader, and the eloquent prayer of Comrade Rev. George I. Browne, contributed much to the solemnity and sweetness of our farewell.

We commenced on Tuesday night in St. Paul's House with a "Welcome" meeting, before a large and representative gathering. The local music committee presented an interesting program of solos, duets and choruses which gave a happy and artistic character to the occasion. The speeches were each of them gems of eloquent truth and were so well received that Comrade Rev. James L. Smiley, who presided, declared that he was unwilling to hold them down to any time limit. Prof. William Tappan delighted the audience with a felicitous address of welcome, punctuated with several very appropriate stories. Comrade Rev. Edward E. Carr responded, after receiving a hearty ovation from his many admirers. He reviewed the growth of Socialism in Baltimore, showing its steady advance as he had observed it on successive visits. The orator of the evening, Comrade Rev. Irwin St. J. Tucker, was then introduced, with the reminder of the similarity of our experiences with those of the first Apostles who were persecuted and imprisoned. Comrade Tucker held the assemblage to closest attention, talking over an hour and eliciting frequent and enthusiastic applause. The meeting lasted nearly three hours and was most heartily enjoyed by all. Comment may be summed up in the appreciative language of a thoughtful Jewish comrade: "I haven't enjoyed a Socialist meeting so much for several years." The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Richard W. Hogue and closed with benediction by Rev. Comrade Charles S. Biggs, the Marc'sellaise being sung at the conclusion by the whole assembly.

The business sessions began on Wednesday morning in St. Paul's House, and lasted until Saturday evening. General Secretary E. E. Carr presented a careful and elaborate report, showing that he and Mrs. Carr had formed seventeen new centers recently, a large proportion of them being in the South. He recommended the appointment of a committee on The Relation of the Fellowship to Independent Socialist Churches; also committees on Methods of Propaganda and Finances.

A committee on Peace reported an "Address on Peace," which was adopted. Upon learning of the National Peace Conference in session at Chicago, February 27 and 28, the Conference sent a telegram of greeting, which read as follows:

"The Ninth General Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship of America, assembled at Baltimore, Md., sends most cordial greetings to the National Peace Conference at Chicago, with earnest prayer for its abundant success. We respectfully submit that permanent world peace can be secured only upon the basis of social justice as taught throughout the Holy Bible and scientifically expounded by International Socialism."

The Rev. Comrade Charles G. Girelius was elected permanent secretary for the Conference, while the presiding office was held in turn by Comrades Carr, Smiley, Tappan, Slater and Biggs.

Comrade Rev. George W. Slater gave an encouraging report of his work among the colored race, and showed how prejudice always melts away before the message.

The General Secretary presented a large number of letters of greeting to the Conference from prominent Socialists of all parts of the country. Time permitted the reading of only a few, viz.: that of Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, Rev. Eliot White quoting Bishop Guerry, and Bishop Paul Jones of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Utah.

The business sessions were open to the public and several representative citizens dropped in during the discussions.

But the mass meetings at night were of course the best opportunity for the public. Three such meetings were held, in as many different sections of the city. On Wednesday the spacious chapel of the Church of the Ascension, West Baltimore, was the scene of a strong meeting, Comrade Rev. Chas. G. Girelius delivering a thoughtful discourse on "Socialism and Charity," and Comrade Harvey P. Moyer on "The Necessity of Socialism." East Baltimore had its opportunity on Thursday night in the beautiful St. Mark's Reformed Church. Here Comrade Tucker spoke upon the "Real Atheism," and showed how many of the Bible worthies were suspected of atheism by their ignorant contemporaries. Comrade Moyer led the singing and made a brief address at the close.

On Friday night Albaugh's Theater, in North Baltimore, was the center of Socialist attraction. Comrade Rev. W. D. P. Bliss delivered a most interesting lecture upon "Social Reconstruction," beautifully illustrated with stereopticon slides. It was largely historical. He was followed by Comrade Bouck White, who entertained the audience with an account of his prison experience, and then showed some of the teachings of the Nazarene Carpenter from an industrial point of view.

The last great feature of the Conference was Socialist Sunday, February 28. All pastors in Baltimore were invited and urged to preach upon Socialism at least once on that day. In some cases, the visiting delegates filled pulpits for this purpose. The list shows a well-distributed geographical arrangement, even suburban Baltimore and Annapolis being included.

In conclusion, we admit that our Conference was not numerically large. Like the Apostles, we are a "little flock," but we are cheered by the Blessed Master's own promise: "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." J. L. S.

PULPITS FILLED IN BALTIMORE, CONFERENCE SUNDAY

Address on Socialism by Delegates
Sunday Morning, February 28th

Fulton Ave. Presbyterian Church, Rev. Edward Ellis Carr of Chicago.
Church of the Ascension, P. E., Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of New York City.
Church of the Advent, P. E., Rev. George I. Browne of Lancaster, Pa.
Church of the Transfiguration, P. E., (West Arlington), Rev. James L. Smiley, Annapolis, Md.
Presbyterian Church, Division & Dolphin Sts., Rev. George W. Slater of Clinton, Iowa.
St. Anne's, Annapolis, P. E., 4:30 p. m., Rev. George I. Browne of Lancaster, Pa.

Sunday Evening, February 28th

South Baltimore Methodist Church, Rev. Edward Ellis Carr of Chicago.
Church of the Ascension, Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker of Chicago, who afterwards conducted an Open Forum.
Grace M. E., Hampden, Rev. Charles G. Girelius, Woodbury, New Jersey.
Holy Trinity, P. E., Rev. George I. Browne of Lancaster, Pa.
Presbyterian Church, Division and Dolphin Sts., Rev. George W. Slater of Clinton, Iowa.

Addresses at Preachers' Meetings

Methodist Ministers' Association of Washington, D. C., Monday morning, March 1st, Rev. Edward Ellis Carr of Chicago.

Methodist and Baptist Ministerial Union of Baltimore (colored), by Rev. George W. Slater of Clinton, Iowa.

On Tuesday afternoon, Feb. 23d, Mrs. E. Carr of Chicago, addressed the Just Government League at their headquarters, 817 North Charles St.

ADDRESSES TO COLORED PEOPLE BY REV. GEO. W. SLATER, SPECIAL SECRETARY FOR THE NEGRO RACE

Sharon Baptist Church, Wednesday evening. The pastor, Dr. W. M. Alexander, who has charge of the Baltimore African Press, very much desired a return date in his church before Comrade Slater left the city. Comrade Slater could not do so on account of his lecture dates on his return trip home.

Bethel M. E. Church, Friday night.

Trinity M. E. Church, Monday evening.

Comrade Slater found a very fertile field for Socialism among the colored people of Baltimore. His lectures were very favorably received. Special mention should be made of Dr. W. Edward Williams, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in which Comrade Slater spoke both morning and evening on Sunday for his courteous and most kindly consideration for Comrade Slater during his week's stay. He greatly assisted him in getting a hearing before his people and was instrumental in securing his dates before both Ministerial Unions.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S CONFERENCE REPORT

The report of the General Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship to the Baltimore Conference frankly dealt with the difficulties and dangers confronting the Fellowship, and contained many items of encouragement. Seventeen new centers were organized last year and twenty-one members at large received, mostly preachers, teachers and men and women of influence in their respective localities. All real Socialists who accept also the social message of Jesus, whatever their occupation, are earnestly invited to join the C. S. F. as members at large where it is not possible to organize a center. Write to the General Secretary for application blanks. The dues are 15 cents per month.

The General Secretary recommended the appointment of a committee to report upon the proper attitude to be assumed by the Fellowship toward independent Socialist churches, which was done. This report will be published next month.

The General Secretary also pointed out the growing opportunity for C. S. F. organization and work, and urged an efficient financial committee, which was elected. See report.

The financial report showed \$1,796 received and expended by the General Office, and approximately the same amount by the more active centers.

On the whole the Conference was of great importance to the Fellowship at large and to the cause of Socialism in Baltimore.

BISHOP PAUL JONES JOINS CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

At the Baltimore Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship the applicants for membership at large named below were voted into the Christian Socialist Fellowship:

The Right Rev. Paul Jones, Bishop of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
J. P. Dudley, machinist, Bethesda, Me.
Rev. J. P. Conover, clergyman and teacher, Concord, N. H.
Joseph Reed, teacher State Normal School, Lewiston, Idaho.

Mrs. Charles G. Girelius, minister's wife, Woodbury, N. J.

Grant S. Youmans, a prominent party worker of Minot, N. D.

The applicants for membership at large named below were submitted to the General Executive Committee in February and were accepted:

Prof. A. W. Calhoun, Rev. N. F. Douglass, Rev. W. H. Talmage, Alfred Keifer, Rose Willey, W. F. Kleinschmidt.

NEW CENTERS ORGANIZED AND ACCEPTED

The centers of Christian Socialist Fellowship recently organized at the cities named below were accepted by vote of the Conference at Baltimore:

Roswell, N. M., organized by Frank Leslie, Mrs. W. C. Winston, J. C. Callen, J. R. Callen, D. W. Elliot and F. R. Bennette.

Chattanooga, Tenn.; organized by Rev. L. R. Robinson, Daniel Shirey, C. L. Mayer, H. F. Kruser, H. L. Gerrard, S. F. Rowley, G. W. James and J. S. Boyed.

Nashville, Tenn.; organized by Rev. Joseph W. Eakin, Dr. J. M. Lindsley, F. B. Felker and E. C. Wright.

Louisville, Ky.; organized by C. B. Nordeman, G. A. Brandt, Viola E. Brandt, G. F. Hempetmann, E. G. Parrish, Herman Moorman, Etta Smith, D. L. Leech, Anna C. Bettman, F. C. Stierl and H. S. Kendall.

Indianapolis, Ind.; organized by William Tice, Mrs. Rose Williams, B. R. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Bassett, Mrs. Susie Thompson, A. V. Shackelford, G. D. Snyder, Comrade Hoover, and others.

The following new centers were recognized by vote of the General Executive Committee in February: Butler, Pa.; Santa Barbara, Calif., and Baltimore, Md. Baltimore is now one of the larger centers.

CENTERS MOST ACTIVE LAST YEAR

Among the Centers of the C. S. F. which were most active last year are Toronto, where a little over \$200 was spent for lectures (including ten days' meeting by the General Secretary); literature, rents, etc.; Chicago, where nearly \$200 was spent for similar purposes; and Baltimore, where, including the collections and donations connected with the six weeks' protracted meeting held in the fall of 1914, and the Conference of 1915, more than \$1,000 was spent for lectures, rents, advertising, literature, etc. The centers at Jacksonville, Fla., Annapolis, Md., and Cleveland, Ohio, deserve special mention for their activity.

GENERAL OFFICERS ELECTED FOR NEXT TERM

General Secretary, Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, Ph. D., of Chicago.

General Treasurer, Harvey P. Moyer, of Chicago.

Assistant to the General Secretary, Mrs. Ella Carr.

Special Secretary to the Colored Race, Rev. Geo. W. Slater, Clinton, Iowa.

Special Secretary to the German-Americans, Prof. J. G. Evert, Hillsboro, Kans.

General Trustees

To serve one year: Carl D. Thompson, H. B. Langley, Edward Hvale. To serve two years: Dr. John A. Kirkpatrick, William A. Ward and Irwin St. John Tucker. To serve three years: Wm. F. Cochran, H. P. Moyer and Edward E. Carr.

General Executive Committee of Twenty-Five

Rev. James L. Smiley, 130 Prince George street, Annapolis, Md.

Prof. William Tappan, Baltimore, Md.

J. P. Taylor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Rev. George W. Slater, 309 3d street, Clinton, Ia.

Rev. Wm. A. Ward, 519 S. Main, Wichita, Kans.

Rev. T. P. Byrnes, 1023 Chestnut street, Erie, Pa.

Dr. C. H. Reed, 324 Logan street, Toledo, O.

Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, 770 Melbourne street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, 80 Bible House, Astor place, New York City, N. Y.

Prof. Edwin Markham, 92 Waters avenue, West New Brighton, N. Y.

Rev. Carl D. Thompson, 801 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. Charles G. Girelius, 287 South Broad street, Woodbury, N. J.

Rev. E. J. Helms, 59 Patten street, Forest Hill, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. Mary Quinlan Laughlin, 171 Woodlawn avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.

Dr. George Mc A. Miller, Rusk, Fla.

Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, 444 E. 1st South street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Prof. I. C. Baldwin, Y. M. C. A., Jacksonville, Fla.

Dr. A. D. Watson, 10 Euclid avenue, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Rev. George I. Browne, 319 W. Chestnut street, Lancaster, Pa.

Mrs. Kathryn Spiera, 901 West Main street, Richmond, Va.

C. B. Nordeman, 1318 Bardstown, Louisville, Ky.

Rev. L. R. Robinson, 609 Henderson avenue, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, 5457 Drexel avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. Charles S. Biggs, Baltimore, Md.

Archibald G. Craig, 86 Tonnelle avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

In view of the fact that never before has there been a greater opportunity for the spread of the principles of Socialism from the Christian viewpoint, your committee would strongly recommend the greatest possible effort on the part of every member and friend of the Christian Socialist Fellowship to raise funds for its propaganda along the following lines:

1. Increased dues through increased membership.

2. Fees from lectures, as rapidly as we may be able successfully to organize a systematic lecture course.

3. Two annual special collections from centers, (1) for general organization work, (2) for work among the colored people.

4. Donations from individuals favorable to and in sympathy with the great cause of Christian Socialism, for general propaganda purposes.

We are very glad to report that guarantees amounting to \$200 per month have already been received towards such a working fund for this year, and we trust that with the united effort of every earnest member of our organization, this fund may be speedily and largely increased, so that the work of the Christian Socialist Fellowship may be pushed rapidly and successfully.

(Signed) William F. Cochran.

C. A. Biggs.

Harvey P. Moyer.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA

The preaching of Marxian economics, combined with the ethics of Moses and the prophets, and of Jesus and the apostles, constitutes the most effective Socialist propaganda. It is overwhelmingly convincing to both mind and soul, winning religious people to Socialism and Socialists to religion. To this method of preaching the Christian Socialist Fellowship stands fully committed, seeking both social and spiritual emancipation and development for all mankind.

In order to further this propaganda in the most practical way we recommend the following:

1. The strengthening and extension of the work of the general organization of the C. S. F. by such an increase of financial support as will enable the general officers to found centers in all the larger cities as soon as possible and maintain a system of effective general superintendence of all the centers.

2. The holding of district conferences wherever possible, to further the propaganda and to strengthen the centers in the various sections of the country.

3. The constant encouragement of the center organizations and the members at large to arrange for Socialist lectures and sermons in churches and other religious organizations, and to distribute Socialist literature at churches and in the houses of religious people.

4. Realizing the necessity of winning the Negro race to Socialism, we recommend the establishment, under direction of the general office, of a systematic propaganda among colored people, both north and south, for the purpose of organizing colored centers and doing the same kind of work among colored churches and people, especially by agency of colored men and women, that is being done among white churches and white people generally.

5. There being imperative need of instructing children and adults in the principles of scientific Socialism, and the revolutionary economics of the Bible, we recommend the estab-

lishment, wherever possible, of weekly lectures and classes for adults, and graded classes for children. These lectures and classes should be held at times which do not conflict with church services or Sunday schools. They should be under careful moral discipline; they should be managed wisely for earnest instruction, and should be attended by singing, prayer and pure joyous fellowship.

To accomplish the above results we urge all members of the C. S. F. to work faithfully and unceasingly, and invite all Christian Socialists who can spare much or little money to avail themselves of the supreme privilege of helping finance the work of the general organization, the work among colored people, and the work undertaken by the various centers to which they belong.

"New occasions teach new duties." The present world crisis calls for sublime heroism of labor and larger sacrificial giving than ever before. Comrade, may the God of the Social Revolution and all His earnest workers depend upon your loyal and generous support. "The cry of the people" is in your ears. Oh, may it pierce your heart!

GREETINGS FROM PROF.

RAUSCHENBUSH

To the Christian Socialist Fellowship at Baltimore, Md.

Dear Brethren and Comrades:

I believe that Christian Socialism has a great field of work in our country. It can walk through doors which are bolted and barred to irreligious socialism. It can gain the ears of the most intelligent, most educated, and most genuinely Christian ministers in every community, winning them at least to a partial consent and friendly interest, if not to complete devotion; and each man count by weight as well as by numbers. It can win the attention of some of the 37,000,000 church members, and in spite of the denunciation of the Church, its people are the solid, clean, and intelligent folks who would be welcomed in any movement. Socialism may begin with the natural-born radicals in a community, but some time it must make inroads among the conservative folks.

I believe that when the Christian temper and spirit are added to clear economic knowledge, the mixture is better than either ingredient alone. We must break with the denunciatory traditions of Socialism, and teach our truth in a friendly and persuasive spirit. "He shall not strive, nor cry aloud, neither shall anyone hear his voice clamor in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth justice unto victory." That characterized the propaganda methods of Jesus, and I believe they have the acid criticism and the bitter invective beaten twice over for effectiveness and real persuasiveness.

We believe in the power of religion. Let any emotion be deep enough, and it becomes religious. Make any idea broad and noble enough, and it demands religious expression. Some of our non-religious Socialists are religious in spite of themselves. We are consciously so and do not have to stifle the greatest of all forces in us. So far as my experience in public addresses goes, all except a few indoctrinated theorists love religion, provided it is yoked up with the cause of the common man and gets back of justice and fraternity.

With best wishes for your meetings and great hope for the cause of God and the people, Your comrade,

Walter Rauschenbush.

GOVERNOR DUNNE AGAINST JUDICIAL MURDER

Governor Dunne of Illinois has issued a vigorous plea for the abolition of capital punishment, saying that killing a man by law never did and never can make men good. Warden Thomas Mott Osborne of Sing Sing also made a vigorous plea for the abolition of capital punishment before the New York Legislature of March 6. The movement for the abolition of legal murder grows apace. God send its triumph!

Like a wheel revolving round its pivot Hub
Let your thinking circle round the SUB CLUB
STUB.

Take no heed of empty religious
Get each day's work done.

The Hero of Constantinople

John of the Golden Mouth, Greatest of Christian Socialist Orators

By Irwin Tucker

When the guns of the allied fleet began to thunder at the defenses of the Dardanelles, what dropped on the Chicago Board of Trade. Human history for ages has centered around that narrow neck between Europe and Asia. Indeed, the possession of Constantinople and its defenses was one of the main causes of this war, since Russia and Germany and England all covet its key to the boundless riches of Asia.

To Christian Socialists, Constantinople is a place of high historic interest. For here lie the bones of the greatest of Christian preachers, and the greatest of Christian Socialists—John of the Golden Mouth, Patriarch of Constantinople in the first days of the Christianized Empire. In his person the social revolution reared its head in the Church of the East, oldest of all Christian communities except the Syrian or Hebrew Christians of Asia and the Copts of Egypt. He was crushed, and so thoroughly was the crushing done that the Greek Church has ever since remained the most slavishly abject of all religious bodies before the throne of worldly power. Arnold of Brescia raised the cry in the Church of Rome, and John Ball of Kent in the Church of England. But John of the Golden Mouth, familiarly called "St. Chrysostom," was the first great hero of the Social Revolution in the Christian Church after it was taken over by Rome.

It will not be amiss to recall how clearly and fearlessly Chrysostom denounced the thousand iniquities of rent, profit and interest, and how terribly he denounced it, and how fearful a revenge the Capitalist ring of the corrupt court of Constantinople took against him for his boldness. For human history returns to its tracks; and once again Constantinople is the center of the world. If Saint Sophia shall again be a Christian Church, let us try to make sure that another John of the Golden Mouth shall be found to preach again in as fearlessly as did the ancient saint whose dust lies under its shining dome, sixteen centuries old.

It surprises many to be told that Chrysostom was a free-eating Socialist. His name is familiar to every user of the Book of Common Prayer, for a prayer bearing his name closes every service of Morning or Evening Worship according to the use of the Episcopal Church. Outside of Christ and the Apostles, his name is the only name mentioned in the Prayer-Book. The Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church both celebrate his birthday on January 27, and the liturgy composed by him is largely used in the Greek Church to this day.

Constantinople has been the doer of Russia for centuries; it has been a prize of war for ages.

Place of Constantinople

It is the location of Constantinople which has made it bulk so large in history. A thousand years before it received its present name, the place was seized upon by a wandering tribe of Magyars, back in the far days before Rome was heard of, or Greece was more than a scattered collection of warring villages; back before Persia towered up from the Iranian hills; back in the days when Mesopotamia still ruled the destinies of nations. It was called Byzantium, from the name of the fureled chieftain who led that Magyar band. All during the middle ages the Byzantine Empire was famed as the bulwark of the Christians against the Saracens. Byzantine art is still

trade of the Black Sea; more, it is the natural passageway between Europe and Asia, which are there parted by a channel never more than five miles wide. It commands the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean; it dominates the situation from the Adriatic clear to the Persian Gulf, and of all the vast plains along the Danube, the Dnieper, and the Don. The absence of tides, the depth of the harbor, and the wealth of its fisheries, make it unrivalled as a port.

It is a natural citadel, as well as a natural harbor. Its impregnability is shown by the fact that for ten centuries it defied the power of the all-conquering Turks, and behind the bulwark of its walls France, Germany and England were able to grow. To invest it is an almost superhuman task. The armies of the kings of East and West have failed many and many a time to surround and reduce it.

One of these attempts at capturing the town by surprise gave the Turks their famous emblem of the Crescent. When Philip of Macedon, the father of all-conquering Alexander, sought to take the city by night, the dark clouds suddenly parted and the crescent moon flooded the world with light, showing to the defenders the oncoming hosts of Macedonia. Philip retreated in defeat, and the citizens in joy stamped the image of the Crescent on their coins and in all public places. When on May 29, 1453, the Turks captured Constantinople, they took this sign for their own, as the emblem of the humiliation of the great fortress which had so long defied them.

Became Capital of Empire

During the first three centuries the Christians were persecuted by the Emperors of Rome as an outlawed sect. But the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church; the more Christians were killed by torture, the more Christians sprang up to take their place. The Emperor Constantine found that the Church was more strongly organized than the Empire; so he adopted the Church to stay up the falling empire, and in saving the empire he well-nigh destroyed the Church. For it became fashionable to be a Christian; it became the way to fame and wealth. So worldliness flocked in; men became Christians for revenue only. A bishop, who before had been the first man to die in a persecution, now became a high officer, with a salary and an assured social position. Hence the office of bishop became a thing sought after by place-seekers.

Constantine moved his residence from Old Rome to Byzantium, which he called New Rome, or Constantinople, and there he placed the capital of the Empire. The reason was chiefly that the Empire was threatened from the east much more formidably than from the west; that old Rome was isolated and cut off from the tremendous wealth of the Eastern world, and also perhaps because Constantinople was one of the pleasantest places of residence in the world. It was on May, 11, 330, that the city was inaugurated as the new capital of the Empire of Rome.

From his nearness to the emperor, the Bishop of Constantinople became at once a personage of great influence. Constantinople was the seat of fashion and luxury. Every one with money to spend came there. Every one seeking to make money quickly and easily, came there. The great chariot-races, which took the place of the bloody gladiatorial shows of Old Rome, because the Christian conscience would not allow the murdering of men for sport, were the only means of amusement of a vast number of the population.

became a courtier, sometimes of a rather frivolous sort.

But the Church was not wholly corrupted. Immediately the taint of luxury and worldliness crept into it, those who were minded to follow the Gospel of Christ rather than the soft platitudes of men, fled to the desert and became hermits. And whenever any great political or religious crisis occurred, the hermits and monks would flock in from their desert caves, weird and uncouth, clad in the skins of animals, warped and blackened by the life they led, and would raise the cry of revolt against oppression or cruelty. It is true that at times their fanaticism led them into persecutions such as that of Hypatia; but let us remember also that what Hypatia stood for was the open and shameless prostitution and debauchery which had turned the public parks, at every feast-day, into an open-air brothel.

Birth of Chrysostom

Into such a world, in the year 347, young John Chrysostom was born. The nickname Chrysostom, which means Golden-mouth, was not given him until after his death. His father, Secundus, was one of the eight generals who commanded the imperial army; a position very high and of great responsibility. His mother, Anthusa, was left a widow at the age of 20, and lived the rest of her life single, that she might devote herself to her son.

Young John began to study law, entering at the age of 18 the school of Libanius, who was a close friend of the Emperor Julian. He was the most brilliant of the pupils; so much so that when Libanius lay dying, and was asked who he wished to succeed him, he answered, "John, if the Christians had not stolen him from us." As a public pleader, John made a brilliant success. The world lay before him. At that time the profession of the law was the surest road to wealth. For the laws of the empire were in an intolerable confusion. There were more than two thousand bulky works on law, of equal authority, and there were more than three million legal precedents and decisions, uncoded.

Rejects Career of Law

The Pretorian Prefect of the East had a law staff of one hundred and fifty, and membership in this staff was a passport to almost any position desired. Young John had this career open to him. But at the age of twenty, he became so thoroughly disgusted with the viciousness of his profession that his soul revolted. "To take a fee for making the worse appear the better," he said, "seemed to me to be linked to a lie; to take Satan's wages; to sit against one's own soul." He could not see that the moral prostitution involved in selling one's mental ability to a client, for money, to commit an act known to be wrong, was in the slightest degree less evil than to sell one's body for the purpose of lust, or one's hand for purposes of murder. And he left the profession of the law, and took the humble position of lay-reader in the church of Antioch, the town where he was born. He would have become a hermit immediately, except that his mother still lived. And when she died, instantly he forsook the world and all that it held for him, and entered a community on the desolate mountain range south of Antioch. He found it difficult, after the luxury of Antioch, to accustom himself to the rigorous life he here imposed; but after four years he found that even this was not enough, and he went off by himself to a lonely cavern on the mountainside, and there he remained for the rest of his life.

seldom, praying constantly. It was cold, on these Syrian mountain tops, yet he allowed himself no fire. The food he ate was of the smallest quantity and of the coarsest kind.

Two years of this life wrecked his health, and he, at the command of his superiors, went back to Antioch, where he was made deacon, and after five years was made a priest.

For ten years he remained at Antioch as a preacher. He preached twice every week—Saturday and Sunday—and sometimes five days in the week. The unusual thing about this is that only a bishop was in those days supposed to do the preaching. But in the Antioch Cathedral, when it was known that John was to preach, the crowds filled every space of the vast building. They packed the place so closely that as he tells us in one of his sermons, the pickpockets had a rich harvest; for there are no seats in the Eastern churches. The congregations also testified to their delight by applauding him vigorously, which he disliked, because he said they were treating him as they treated a favorite jockey.

One cannot wonder at Chrysostom's power to draw these huge crowds when one reads his sermons. There are quantities of them—encyclopedias of them. It was said that he had written more than anyone but God could read.

When I first stumbled on these sermons in a series of musty old volumes in the library of the theological seminary, I gasped with amazement. Here, out of the dust sixteen centuries deep, spoke a voice which might have poured forth its burning eloquence from some stump pulpit of today.

Coming from the cold sterility of his mountain top, from a life which, although it had wrecked his health, he called the "life of angels," into the rich luxury of Antioch, he lost no opportunity of denouncing the follies of his day. The poor loved him; but the wealthy stayed away from his sermons. Nor can we wonder, when we read them.

Here is an extract from one of his sermons on 1 Timothy, 12:

"How is it possible that wealth should not be gained wrongfully? To grow rich without injustice is impossible. What if one succeeded to his father's inheritance? Then he received what had been gathered by injustice. For it was not from Adam that his ancestry inherited riches; but of the many that were before him, some one must have unjustly taken and enjoyed the goods of others.

"Tell me, whence art thou rich? From whom didst thou receive it? (Ancient Greek for "Where did you get it?") From thy father and grandfather. But canst thou, ascending through many generations, show this acquisition just? It cannot be. The root and origin of it must have been in injustice. Why? Because God in the beginning made not one man rich and another man poor. Nor did he afterwards take and shew to one treasures of gold, and deny to the other the right of searching for it; but he left the earth free to all alike. Why, then, if it is in common, have you so many acres of land, while your neighbor has not a portion of it?

"Mark the wise dispensation of God. That He might put mankind to shame He hath made certain things common, as the sun, air, earth and water, the heavens, the sea, the light, the stars. We are all formed with the same eyes, the same body, the same soul, the same structure in all respects; all things from the earth, all man from one man, and all in the same habitation."

Chrysostom was strong in his advocacy of the public ownership and democratic management of public utilities. He argues thus:

"Other things are common, such as baths, cities, market-places, walks. Observe that concerning things common there is no contention, but all is peaceable. But when one attempts to possess himself of anything, to make it his own, then contention is introduced, as if nature herself were indignant that when God brings us together in every way we are eager to divide and separate ourselves by appropriating things, and by using those cold words, 'mine and thine.'

"But how can he who is rich, be a good

man? When he distributes his riches, he is good; so that he is good when he has ceased to have it, when he gives it to others; but whilst he keeps it himself, he is not good. How then is that a good which being retained renders men evil, being parted with makes them good? Not therefore to have wealth, but to have it not, makes one appear to be good. Wealth therefore is not a good."

* * *

Kidnaped to Dignity

In the year 397, Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, died. A wild and undignified scramble for the place followed. There were many who thought they could fill the post of court chaplain to the Emperor with grace, dignity and ease. The power of nomination was in the hands of Eutropius, the king's prime minister. Eutropius had heard John of Antioch preach, in passing through that city. It must have been one of the off sermons, so to speak; it is not easy to believe that Eutropius would have let a man loose in the Cathedral of Santa Sophia had he gathered his sentiments on the economic basis of society.

However, Eutropius sickened of the mob of fawners who were after the post. He sent a patrol of imperial guards to kidnap John of the Golden Mouth; well knowing that if anybody in Antioch knew of his plan there would be a riot. So John was invited by the imperial prefect to a little chapel outside the town. There he was thrust into a chariot, bound, and conveyed the six hundred miles to the world-capital, a prisoner. Only there was it told him that he was to become the Patriarch of Constantinople, the ruler in fact of the Church of the East. And, submitting against his will, he was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople.

His first step was to sell every particle of silver or gold or velvet or semblance of wealth of any kind that was in the stately marble palace where the bishops had lived, and bestow the proceeds on the hospitals and the poor. Instead of giving banquets to the laity, or dining in sumptuous splendor at the tables of the rich, he ate, alone of the coarsest fare. He studiously avoided the gaiety of the imperial court.

Hated by the Clergy

He spent all his time among the poor and suffering. No wonder his luxury-loving friends of the clergy charged him with moroseness and parsimony! He compelled the clergy to hold services at night for the benefit of those who could not come in the day; and they despised him for the extra labor. He put out of office right and left clergy who were licentious, or irregular in their lives. He fired six bishops at one swoop for buying their way into the office. He made it very evident he was a patriarch who intended to rule.

Now, at the start, Eudoxia, the Empress, wife of the weak-minded Arcadius, was enchanted. She admired an ascetic. She thought a man who discarded all the follies of wealth, who ate alone, and who ruled his clergy with an iron hand, was just too lovely for anything. The year after he got there, she built a beautiful shrine on the shores of the sea for holding the bones of martyrs. The bones were transferred with great pomp and solemnity in a night procession. The empress, clad in her purple and gold, walked barefoot behind the bones of the martyrs the six miles from the city to the shrine. Great crowds of people accompanied the procession, with torches so numerous that the highway resembled a river of fire. The empress was in an ecstasy of religious fervor. She would do anything to honor the bones of the dead.

Then John began to make invidious suggestions. He said the only way of honoring Christ was to honor the bones of the living, and not of the dead; and that to get off the backs of the poor was a more praiseworthy task than to get on one's knees before the saints. And then the tide turned.

So long as he eulogized the dead, things went smoothly. But he began to picture the taking of rent, interest and profit as crimes against God and man, and to brand those who lived off the labor of others as being worse than sneak-thieves. Fashion stood aghast; business growled and thundered. But John of

the Golden Mouth went right on. Here is one extract from a sermon on St. Matthew, chapter 17: the Transfiguration of Christ. He is giving a picture of the Kingdom of God when it shall come with power.

"The prophet saith: They shall tear in sunder every unjust compact," thus calling men's bills about the interest due to them, and the sums they have lent. Set at liberty them that are bruised; them that are afflicted." For such a being is the debtor; when he sees his creditor, his mind is broken, and he fears him more than a wild beast.

Stock Exchange in a Flurry

"What is more vexatious than to be lending, and taking thought about usuries and bargains, and demanding sureties, and fearing and trembling about securities, about the principal, about the writings, about the interest, about the bondsmen? For nothing is so unsound and suspicious as that which is accounted 'security'."

"Nothing so unsound and suspicious as that which is called 'security.' Does it not sound as though there was a stock exchange in Constantinople subject to all the flurries and panics that afflict our exchanges today? There was, indeed. Commercialism reached a high pitch in the city by the Bosphorus.

"Let us not then traffic in other men's calamities, nor make a trade of our benevolence.

"For to this intent thou hast money, to relieve poverty, not to make a gain of poverty; but thou with a show of relief makest the calamity greater, and sellest benevolence for money. Sell it, I forbid thee not, but for an heavenly kingdom. Receive not a small price for so good a deed, thy monthly one in a hundred (twelve per cent per annum), but thy immortal life.

"For tell me not that the poor man is pleased to receive, and is thankful for the loan. Why, this is the result of thy cruelty; for the poor man, because thou countest him worth not so much money, is actually compelled to be thankful for thy cruelty.

And here is his opinion of charity. The wealthy of his day used the identical plea for their own defense to do the wealthy of today; and how his scorn makes them to the earth!

"But what is the plea? 'When I have received interest, I give to the poor,' one tells me. Speak reverently, O man! God desires not such sacrifices. Deal not subtilly with the Law. Better not give to a poor man than give from that source; for the money that hath been collected by honest labors, thou often makest to become unlawful because of that wicked increase; as if thou shouldst command a fair woman to give birth to scorpions."

Iniquity of Interest

"For never doth the money-lender enjoy his possessions, nor find pleasure in them; but when the interest is brought, he rejoices not that he hath received gain, but is grieved that the interest hath not yet come up to the principal. And before this evil offspring is brought forth complete, he compels it also to bring forth; making the interest principal, and forcing it to bring forth its untimely and abortive brood of vipers. For of this nature are the gains of interest. More than those wild creatures do they devour and tear the souls of the wretched. This is the bond of iniquity; this is the twisted knot of oppressive bargains.

"Yea; I give," the rich man seems to say, "Not for thee to receive, but that thou mayest repay more." And, whereas, God commands not even to receive again what is given; for "give," saith He, "to them from whom ye look not to receive"; thou requirest even more than is given, and what thou gavest not, this, as a debt, thou constrainest the receiver to repay. And thou, indeed, supposeth thy substance to be increased hereby, but instead of substance thou art kindling the unquenchable fire."

And here he attacks the lust for gold, in a sermon on Matthew 19, that describes the "millionaire madness" of today as accurately as any psycho-pathologist.

"He that desireth to be rich, though he have ten thousand talents, yet he desireth as much more; though he obtain these, he aims at twice

(Continued on page 11)

SOCIALISM AND CHARITY

(Continued from page 4)

charity, and we do hope to improve our work and to make it far more effective than now.

But Socialism will not be satisfied with merely taking care of the poor, the helpless, the abnormal, the dependent. Merely caring for the needy gets us nowhere, so long as the poverty-stricken wrecks of humanity keep coming on, compelled by economic pressure. Instead of spending all of our benevolent energy in rescuing the needy and dependent, Socialism proposes fundamentally to conserve those who are not poverty-stricken and down-and-out, but still strong and sound.

Parable of the Caterpillars

While I was living in Williamsport, Pa., a few years ago, an army of green caterpillars entered the city and attacked our shade-trees. They did their work so vigorously that tree after tree was quickly stripped of its foliage; and before the city was fully awake to the danger, the caterpillars had covered, I suppose, a space of nearly a square mile. Then the authorities secured spraying machines, and began spraying the trees. But it was not the injured trees that they sprayed first. They sprayed first the unharmed trees along the edge of the infected district. Thus they surrounded the caterpillars with a belt of sprayed trees, stopped the further advance of the caterpillars and conserved first the trees that had not been injured. Then they advanced into the midst of the caterpillars, and soon had them disposed of.

In somewhat similar fashion, Socialism proposes to deal with the problem of the needy and helpless. We are first going to safeguard those who have not fallen into the dismal abyss. We are not going to go on eternally with the futile endeavor of rescuing men, women, and children out of the abyss, all the while that economic pressure is thrusting other men, women, and children into the abyss faster than we can rescue them. For the sake of the future, we could well afford, if it were necessary, to abandon altogether those who are down-and-out, and throw our whole strength into the struggle of putting to an end the making of poverty. We hear the cry now from countless families who are just on the verge of being thrust over the brink of poverty, fearfully exclaiming, "Save us, not with charity, but from the need of charity." Our philanthropist cannot answer that cry. His mission is to the down-and-out.

Besides, very often our philanthropist is some captain of industry, who with the one hand exploits the laborer and drives him into poverty, while with the other hand he holds out the meager dole of charity to the poverty-stricken—in grim fashion not letting his left hand know what his right hand is doing. The Socialist demands justice, and not charity; the end of poverty, and not the mere relief of poverty.

In order to meet the problems of poverty, we must begin with an intelligent reconstruction of our entire industrial system. There is no getting rid of human ills, there is no accomplishing a universal human welfare except we begin right here; for the supplying of all human need depends on industry. Industry is the greatest factor in our social life—not even excepting religion, for, like faith without works, religion without a fair industrial opportunity is dead.

Industry consumes at least a third of every worker's time, and it must needs provide the wherewithal to enjoy, or endure, the remaining two-thirds of his time. Upon industry depends the opportunity to live. Upon industry depends the supplying of need, the attainment of comfort, a chance for wholesome recreation, opportunity for education, the satisfying of higher aspirations. We must look to industry also as the foundation of all work for social uplift and social welfare. Industry established on a wrong basis means that everything else is going to be wrong; and mere philanthropy can never make up for the lack. If we are surely progressing; but where they are first make industry right. Our industries and our businesses and our finances are governed by mingled initiative and caprice and ambition and incompetency and fear and selfishness; and what we are doing and where we are

going nobody knows—except of course the Socialists. The Progressives declare that they are surely progressing; but where they are progressing to they do not know—and Socialists don't, either. To show the utter incompetency, from any right social point of view, of the present industrial regime, here we have the unemployed whom we number by the million, and we haven't sense enough to set them to work. We don't know how to do it. The best we can do is to turn them over to charity and feed them with bread and soup!

Humanity cannot afford to allow industry to be run in this haphazard fashion. We must reconstruct industry and socialize it, so that it shall prove a sufficient basis for all work of human uplift and social welfare. In order to accomplish this we must have Industrial Democracy. That is, Democracy itself must own and control and socialize industry. If we leave industry to private initiative and private ownership and control, we shall have but little improvement. Besides it is a ghastly folly to deny to the workers a voice in the conduct of industry. The burden of industry must rest upon the many and not upon the few; democracy must assume a social responsibility which private individuals cannot assume. Democracy alone can afford to make industry minister to human needs; for industry then can serve no other purpose than to pay its workers decently and turn out goods of the best quality and as cheap as possible. A socialized industry will not waste flesh and blood and soul. It cannot afford to. A socialized industry will not exploit children; for the children will be of far more value when they have grown up and have become trained. A socialized industry will not leave multitudes of men unemployed; for it will be absolute folly to go to the expense of feeding them in idleness. The present problem of the unemployed would be the easiest kind of a problem under the regime of a socialized industry. I would say that under Socialism the problem could not possibly come up; there never could be this great, despairing army of the unemployed. But I must assume that some of you cannot accept such sublime faith as that.

Socialist Treatment of Unemployed

Assuming, then, that for some reason, under Socialism a million men should find themselves out of work. The socialized state, since it has control of the implements of industry, would soon set the men to work—some to make shoes for the rest, some to make clothing for the rest, some to dig coal for the rest, some to produce food for the rest, and so on all along the line until you have every mother's son of them producing all manner of necessities and luxuries for all the rest.

The socialized state can do this, for it will have access to the natural resources, to the public utilities, and to the varied machinery of industry. The modern state, simply because it does not have access to these things, can do little or nothing for the unemployed except dole out an insufficient charity.

Under a regime of socialized industry this idea of feeding strong and healthy people in idleness simply will not be tolerated.

Socialism, then, provides for the socialization of industry so that there shall be an intelligent, co-operative activity in the industrial realm, and that without the wear and the waste and the fearful cost in flesh and blood and soul that we now have. Socialism declares that we cannot afford to crush the souls and bodies of men, women and children, and then throw them out on the world for charity to take care of. Socialism provides also for the democratization of industry, in order to insure justice. I have already mentioned this, and I must re-emphasize it. The worker must have a voice in the conduct of industry; for we cannot trust an autocracy to accomplish the desired purpose here.

We appreciate what Henry Ford is doing for his workmen, but it is not sufficient. He is giving high wages and a share of the profits because he finds either pleasure or profit in doing so, and not because justice requires him to do so. What he bestows freely he may at any time withdraw. He is bestowing not justice, but charity, although a superior order of charity. I'll admit.

He is still a king over his industrial empire, and Socialism tolerates no kings—not even good kings, we know that kings are as human as good kings, we know that kings are as human and frail as the rest of us, and we are pretty sure that there never will be many good kings.

Parable of the Popcorn

When I think of all the charity, and so-called social welfare work, and the profit-sharing schemes offered by some of our benevolent employers for the benefit of their workmen, I am reminded of the country youth who took his sweetheart to town in his buggy. They happened to be near a popcorn vender's stand. "My, that popcorn smells good!" exclaimed the lady. "That's right," replied the gallant youth, "I'll drive up closer so you can smell it better." That's welfare work.

No, industry must be democratized as well as socialized, and when both are accomplished our workers are going to be conserved—that is to say, the men and women employed are not going to be used up and worn out and their shriveled souls at last tossed on the junk pile with the old iron. Our workers are going to get out of their work what they earn, and they are going to be permitted to enjoy life, and the output of misery and distress which now disgraces industry is going to cease, and charity as we now know it will be needed no longer. And charity, real charity, the charity that even angels cannot do without, will find its higher and nobler expression in mutual deeds of kindness, in mutual interchange of helpfulness between free and equal comrades and neighbors, in giving to all an opportunity to work together for the common good as citizens of the co-operative commonwealth.

What of the Accidents?

But there will still be accidents, you say, and there will still be incompetents born into the world, and there will be weaklings, and there will be orphans, and there will be men and women who never will know how to get along; and there will be the old—and therefore we shall still have poverty! Why no, if we but take proper care of the children, all of whom will certainly always be dependent to start with, and if we but cease to crush the normal and strong, the number of weaklings and incompetents will soon be mightily reduced; and a moderate tax on the proceeds of industry will easily take care of the few weaklings and incompetents that may still remain. Even the weaklings and incompetents are not going to be called poor, if decently provided for.

The Dream of Isaiah

Give social-democracy a chance to work out humanity's salvation, and we shall make mighty strides toward the time when there shall be no poor. And we shall help to fulfill a prophecy of an ancient and somewhat discredited writer known by the name of Isaiah.

"There shall be no more an infant of days," said he, "nor an old man that hath not filled his days; for the child shall die a hundred year old and the sinner being a hundred years old shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people, and my chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for calamity; for they are the seed of the blessed of Jehovah, and their offspring with them."

MARKHAM IN CALIFORNIA

Edwin Markham, former general treasurer of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, is lecturing in San Diego to large audiences. Graduate Markham is in California to do literary work in connection with the Panama-Pacific Fair.

THE PRICE

During the years 1855 to 1890, but twenty short years, the incomprehensible sum of \$700,000,000 went to pay for war. The world is now burdened with a \$40,000,000,000 war. And who pays it? The sweating, starving, and dying masses of the world, the widows, the orphans, the maimed, the disabled. Civilization costs the price of blood.

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The Milwaukee Leader is the greatest Socialist daily of the West, and one of the greatest in the world. It is, indeed, the largest English Socialist daily published. By a special combination with the publishers, we are enabled to offer The Christian Socialist and The Milwaukee Leader for one year, both for \$3.00, which is the regular subscription price of The Leader alone. No Socialist in the West should be without these two great Socialist journals. See the advertisement elsewhere.

THE SHAME OF COLORADO

The Colorado House of Representatives has passed three laws making it TREASON to resist the militia, even in defense of one's rights; to incite any gathering to violence or injury to property, or to make or distribute any article tending to incite to riot. The penalty for violation is death, or life imprisonment. Another bill makes it a misdemeanor to disobey an order issued by a militia officer.

It is difficult to speak calmly of such monstrous legislation as this. The constitution has been set aside many times, but this amounts to its deliberate appeal. Yet Colorado Labor put into office the administration which now reigns there; and Colorado Labor must shoulder the blame.

NEW YORK LABOR BETRAYED

Governor Whitman of New York made a desperate play to gain the support of Big Business for the presidential nomination when he forced through the legislature the repeal of the Alien Labor law. This law provided that none but citizens could be employed on public contract work. There are great engineering projects about to be undertaken in New York, and the contractors planned to import the cheapest kind of alien labor to do it. Organized Labor discovered this law forbidding the employment of aliens, and threatened to hold up the payments unless citizen labor were preferred. Disregarding all of the terrible destitution among New York citizens and the fact that there are in the state millions of American laborers eager for work, the state passed a repeal of the alien law at the demand of Capital. Contractors may therefore import all the foreigners they please to beat down wages and standards of living further yet.

This wholesale betrayal of Labor is black indeed; but what of the treason of the workers who voted Whitman into office?

A WORD FROM THE NEW GENERAL TREASURER

Surely the existence of more widespread poverty, today, more unemployment, and the worst war in history, in spite of centuries of preaching the vital Christian doctrine of Love and Brotherhood, must prove The Christian Socialist's contention that, in her zeal for "character development," the Church has failed to preach the equally important and essential Bible teaching—the economic or social application.

There is no lack of Christian social spirit in the world today. It manifests itself in universal deeds of charity and philanthropy, in fraternal, humanitarian and missionary acts the world over.

But, in spite of all this, we have failed to establish a real Christian society, because a kingdom of love and brotherhood cannot be built on a foundation of greed and selfishness—our present social system.

Our great work now, as loyal Socialists, is to convince the Christian world that Socialism is nothing more nor less than applied Christianity. We must teach all Christian people that to "Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness," so that "all these things (food, raiment, shelter, etc.) shall be added unto you," we must unite all Christian forces to bring about Socialism, the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

The work done by our general secretary, Comrade E. E. Carr, during the short time he has held the office, proves not only that Christian people are ready for the Socialist gospel, but that we are following the lines of least resistance and are on the way to the greatest revival of real religion the world has ever seen.

We must win religious people to Socialism or we never can establish it; and when we once enlist the zeal of the Christian people in this greater "Forward Movement," nothing can stop our speedy march to victory.

We are glad to announce that there is already pledged for this special work of the Fellowship this year over \$200.00 per month. This will enable our re-elected general secretary to more fully carry out his work so well started last year. But we need hundreds of



dollars more each month to keep a corps of able organizers in the field. We have, besides the able White comrades available, one of the ablest Negro workers in America willing to take the field to organize centers among his people. The Negroes must be won or they will be used against us by the capitalist masters, and they can be won most easily through religious Socialist methods.

Comrades, this is a simple business proposition. The people cannot hear without a preacher, and it takes cold cash to send him. It is up to us to secure the means.

Let us know as soon as you can what you can do to help carry on this work this year, so that we may plan our work intelligently.

HARVEY P. MOYER,
 General Treasurer, C. S. F.,
 5457 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

Everywhere your elbows with a new friend's rub.
 Talk about the Beauties of the STUB CLUB SUB.

ANOTHER POLICE "RIOT" FAILS

New York's new Police Commissioner, Arthur Woods, was getting restive under continual disclosures of police rotteness. He commissioned an Italian detective, a brand new entry into the profession named Amadeo Polignani, to "get something on the anarchists." Amadeo made friends with a group of young men of radical tendencies and weak minds. He inflamed them with wild utterances and dared them to "make good." He made bombs, with their assistance, and egged them on to join in his scheme for a big explosion. One morning Amadeo took them to the Cathedral of St. Patrick, which was surrounded by detectives. The two young dupes knelt. Amadeo gave the signal and the group were arrested, with the bombs in their hands.

Instantly the police sent broadcast over the land wild stories of anarchist plots to dynamite the homes of millionaires. A wholesale "campaign of destruction" had been "nipped in the bud," they announced; a thousand desperate men, armed to the teeth, were ready to march against the strongholds of the city and burn them to the ground!

The country listened for a moment, then yawned. The plot was too stupidly melodramatic—too entirely well planned; and it is fair to say that after the first two days, hardly anybody in New York or out of it doubted that the whole scheme was concocted by police agents to draw attention from their own misdeeds. The plot fell through, and the police of New York were under a blacker cloud than ever.

It was so with the Hull House "riot" in Chicago. It was too entirely well planned; the city was roused for a few moments, then growled at the stupidity of the police.

All of which shows that the tactics of the "agent provocateur" have outlived their usefulness. The American people are gradually getting wise. "The real anarchists wear blue uniforms" is the growing belief of the great majority.

NO DISRESPECT TO THE DEAD

A regrettable typographical error in Comrade William H. Watts' masterly article, "The Gathering of the Eagles," in the March issue made him refer to the late Pius X as "the poor old Pipe" instead of "Pope." Several have written to ask if this was intentional. It was not. We do not mind occasionally criticizing the Holy Father, but that sort of humor is not our style. We greatly regret the slip.

STREET SALES BEGUN IN NEW YORK

Comrade Tracy D. Mygatt is superintending the sale of Christian Socialists on the streets in New York, as was done in Chicago during the past winter. Through the courtesy of the New York Call, use of their office was secured from 9:30 to 11 every morning. A large number of unemployed men and boys have taken up the sale and are handling the paper, to their own profit and the spread of the gospel of Socialism through the metropolitan district.

BEST PROPAGANDA BOOK

Vail's latest book, "Socialism, Militarism and Triumphant," is unsurpassed, if not unequalled at the price, 50c in cloth, 25c in paper binding. Beautifully printed and bound. Excellent for class study or for handing to a friend. Order of the Christian Socialist, 5457 Drexel Avenue, Chicago.

MOYER'S SONGS OF SOCIALISM, 128 pages of words and music, superior to all other Socialist song books. 20c each (paper cover), \$1.75 per dozen. Order of the Christian Socialist, 5457

"CHRISTENTUM UND SOCIALISMUS" (Christianity and Socialism)

This 20-page pamphlet, of which the second edition has just been published, brings the truth about Socialism in a nutshell and with a Christian spirit. It shows how only international Socialism can in our age make Christianity in reality practicable, by abolishing capitalism and militarism, the twin monsters of the age. Prof. Rauschenbusch says of this pamphlet: "Every German Christian in the land should read it."

All who found the first edition so valuable for propaganda, should get this revised and enlarged edition for distribution. Much valuable material and the latest statistics have been added.

Price 5c each, 20c a dozen. Order of the Christian Socialist, 5457 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

THE HERO OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(Continued from page 8)

as much more, and going on he desires even the mountains, and the earth, and the sea; and all to become gold for him, being mad with a kind of new and fearful madness, and one that can thus never be extinguished.

"For many houses hath this lust overthrown, and fierce wars hath it stirred up, and compelled men to end their lives by a violent death, and before these dangers it ruins the nobleness of the soul, and is wont oft to make him that hath it cowardly, and unmanly, and rash, and false, and calumnious, and ravenous, and over-reaching, and all the worse things.

"When thou shalt see any one resplendent outwardly with raiment and large numbers of attendants, lay open his conscience, and thou shalt see many a cobweb within, and much dust.

Corner on Wheat

Could there be words more timely than these, in which he denounces a grain merchant who secured a corner on wheat in a time of drought? Memorials of the wheat corner of the last twenty years on the Chicago Board of Trade rise in our minds as we listen to these burning words shouting up at us from the dust of centuries:

"A drought once overtook our city, and all were trembling for the last of evils. But afterwards, beyond expectation there was waited down from heaven a great and plentiful rain, and thenceforth all were in holiday and feasting. But in the midst of so many and great blessings, one of these exceedingly wealthy people, with a gloomy and downcast countenance, went about quite dead with sorrow. And when many inquired the reason, he declared: 'Why, having in my possession ten thousand measures of wheat, I have no means of disposing of them left.' Hast thou not heard what Solomon saith: 'He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him?' Dost thou think tongue deserve to be cut out, and the heart to be quenched, that brought forth these words? Seest thou how bold death nor suffer men to be men, but wild beasts and fiends? For what can be more pitiful than this rich man, whose daily prayer is that there may be famine, in order that he may have a little gold?"

It is a familiar trick of the United Fruit Company and of commission merchants to empty whole carloads of fruit or potatoes into the river or the sea, to keep the price up. That trick was known in those days, as long ago, and is thus described:

"But I say these things not only to this man, but also to each one of them who are so diseased; those I say, who raise the price of their wares, and make a traffic of the poverty of their neighbors. For of humanity none anywhere makes any account; but everywhere the covetous desire brings out many at the time of sale. And oil and wine is sold by one quicker, by another more slowly, but by neither out of regard to others; rather the one seeks gain, the other to avoid loss by the spoiling of his produce. Many, for example, have gone so far as to empty whole casks, not even giving a cupful to the poor or a piece of silver's worth to the needy, but after it hath become vinegar they dash it all upon the ground, and destroy beside their casks. Others who would not give a part of a single cake to the hungry have thrown whole granaries into some river; and because they listen not to God, who bade them give to the needy, they exhausted all they had in their houses in most utter destruction and waste; drawing down upon their own heads together with this loss, much scorn, and many a curse."

Argument of Providing for Children.

Again, he ridicules the plea of those who want "something laid by for the children" and offer this as an excuse for piling up wealth; I Thess., 5:

How long shall we love riches? For I shall not cease exclaiming against them, for they are a cause of all evils. What is the spacious plea of the many? "I have children," one says, "and I am afraid for them." He is ashamed to

stand in need of them. I am ashamed to beg." For what reason, then, do you cause others to beg? I cannot, you say, endure hunger. For that reason do you expose others to hunger? Do you know what a dreadful thing it is to beg—how dreadful to be perishing of hunger? Spare also your brethren. Are you ashamed, tell me, to be hungry, and are you not ashamed to rob? Are you afraid to perish of hunger, yet not afraid to destroy others? And yet to be hungry is neither a disgrace nor a crime; but to cast others in such a state brings not only disgrace, but extreme punishment.

All these are pretenses, words, trifles. For that it is not indeed on account of their children that they act thus, they testify who have no children, nor will have, but who labor and harass themselves, and are busy in acquiring wealth, as much as if they had a myriad children to leave it to. It is not the care for children that makes a man covetous, but a disease of the soul.

"But others say that instead of children they may have their riches as a memorial. This is truly ridiculous. Not of thy glory, O man, is it this memorial, but of thy covetousness. Dost thou not see how many now as they pass thy magnificent houses say one to another, 'What frauds, what robberies such as one committed, that he might build this house! and now he is become dust and ashes, and his house has become the inheritance of others.' For as long as it stands, and bears thy name, certainly the mouths of all must needs to be opened against thee.

A man, that better than a harsh landlord! This is his position—the position of this great among Christian slaves! A beggar is more to be respected than a corporation which evicts tenants! He said it, and stuck by it. The poor loved him for it, but the fury of the rich members of his congregation!

"For he that wishes to put off his dishonest gains, does not give a little out of a great deal, but many times more than he has robbed; and ceases also from robbing. But thou, taking violently ten thousand talents, if thou hast restored a few drachmas and still greedily, thinkest thou hast restored the wheat, and art affected as if thou hadst given more. And yet thou oughtest both to have restored these, and to have added other out of thine own private possessions. For as the thief is not excused when he gives back only what he has stolen, but often times he has added even his life; and often he compounds on restoring many times as much; so also should the covetous man. For the covetous man is a thief and a robber far worse than the other, by how much he is also more tyrannical. A thief indeed by being concealed, and by making his attack in the night, cuts off much of the audacity of the attempt, as if he were ashamed, and feared to sin. But the other, having no sense of shame, with open face in the middle of the market place, steals the property of all, being at once a thief and a tyrant. He does not break through walls, nor extinguish the lamp, nor open a closet, nor fear of theft. But what? He does things more insolent than these; in the sight of those who are injured he carries things out by the door, he with confidence opens everything, he compels them, themselves, to expose all their own possessions. Such is the excess of his violence. This man is more wicked than those, inasmuch as he is more shameless and tyrannical. For he that has suffered by stealth is indeed grieved, but he has no small consolation, that he who injured him was afraid of him. But he who together with the injury he suffered is also despised, will not be able to endure his violence. For the ridicule is greater."

Fest Among the Clergy

John of the Golden Mouth had enemies among the clergy. One Bishop, named Acacius, had come to visit him and been much displeased because he was given bad soup. "Till season his soup for him," said Acacius. And he did. He and a few other bishops framed up a trial of John for certain offenses which a microscope could not detect to be sinful, but which served as a pretext. John was tried, found guilty, and banished by night.

meals gathered in every street and threatened the emperor. To add to the excitement, an earthquake occurred. The Emperor feared that the Judgment day was about to break, and sought the emperor to recall John. The people did not wait for the edict. They went out in boats, so numerous that the Bosphorus was a blaze of light, and brought home their bishop with the roar of a million throats rending the air in triumph.

John had not learned wisdom. He went right on denouncing the iniquities of commerce. He demanded that all the rich follow the Gospel precept and sell all they had for the benefit of those who had nothing. A pretext for another attempt to oust the fiery preacher was soon found. The Empress had erected a silver statue of herself just outside the cathedral, and demanded the adoration of the public for it. It was dedicated with holiest license which disturbed the services in the church. Chrysostom is said to have preached a furious sermon with the words, "Herodias is once more maddening; Herodias again dances; Herodias once more demands the head of John." The vengeance of the Empress was immediate.

On Easter Even, while three thousand candidates were being baptized, soldiers burst into the cathedral and slaughtered right and left. The baptismal waters were stained with blood; the altar overturned, the sacred vessels dashed in pieces. The candidates were hastily collected again in the public baths, and again the soldiers stormed the place and drove them out. All through Easter week the city was under martial law; the followers of Chrysostom were dragged from their houses and thrown into prison.

Finally, in order to bring peace, the bishop left the town. As he went out of the city gates, the Temple of Sancta Sophia caught fire and burned to the ground. A fierce storm of persecution broke out over his faithful followers, but it was nothing to the persecutions the old man had to endure. He was banished to Cucusus, in the bleak hills of Armenia. When that did not kill him, he was ordered to the town of Pityus, on the Euxine sea, some hundreds of miles away from Cucusus. He was compelled to go on foot, and the guards were promised a reward if he died on the way. And, according to instructions, he died on the way, of exhaustion and wounds, at a town called Comana.

Thirty-one years later, his body was taken with great pomp and ceremony back to the city of Constantinople, and was buried, with great pomp and splendor, beside the Emperor who had banished him. It was safe, now; Chrysostom was dead. Revering the bones of a dead martyr has always been a favorite form of amusements of the reigning powers. Chrysostom, alive, had been a menace to law and order. It is strange how every man who stands up for justice and righteousness is a foe of law and order! But Chrysostom, dead, was a thing to be worshipped.

It is a most astonishing thing how ready we are to rear the sepulchres of the prophets whom our fathers stoned to death. Jesus said that this merely proves we are of the sons of those who killed the prophets. For no prophet who ever lived desired that his bones be honored; he desired that his pleadings be observed. During his life Chrysostom despised his own body. He abused it with monastic severity to subdue it to the spirit. With what fierce indignation must his spirit have burned when those who to kill his preaching caused him to be slain, sheathed his body in marble and gold and offered incense at it daily, while the shame against which he thundered went on unchecked!

NOT ONE CHANCE IN TWENTY

Governor Ferguson of Texas told the Industrial Relations Commission on March 16 that the tenant farmers in Texas have not one chance in fifty of becoming a home owner. And still the cry is raised by the unthinking—"Back to the Land!"

REFUSES TO SIGN RESIGNATION—OUSTED

Mrs. E. L. Lindsay, of Los Angeles, candidate for city council, was ousted from the city by the following in spite of the resignation which she refused to sign.

Materialist Philosophy Has Borne Evil Fruit, Says Carl D. Thompson

The following encouraging letter and able article were sent to the General C. S. F. Conference at Baltimore, and deserve to be read by many thousands; therefore we are happy to present them here:
Comrades:

I deeply regret that I am unable to attend your conference, and to take part in your deliberations; but my physical condition forbids my attempting the extra work involved in the trip. I send you, however, my most earnest greetings and wishes for the success of your conference.

This is a tragic hour in human history. At the same time it affords an unprecedented opportunity. As never before, the people of the whole world are looking sympathetically to the Socialist movement and the Socialist philosophy. More and more they are willing to listen to our message, and nothing could have happened to deepen the feeling of the possible good there is in Socialism more than the events of the last six months.

More and more, as time goes on, it is impressed upon my mind that the Socialist movement of the world needs the deeper spiritual message that has been too often neglected. The crass materialism that has characterized the interpretation of certain parts of our philosophy in the past has borne its evil fruit too often within our own movement.

On the other hand, the weakness and ineffectiveness of much of the religious effort on the part of the ordinary religious forces, and even by those of us who belong to the Christian Socialist movement, makes our task a particularly difficult and delicate one.

Yet I believe with all my heart that the in-



CARL D. THOMPSON.

fusing of the Socialist movement with the spirit of a true ethical and moral sense would be an infinite strengthening of our cause. And this is our task as Christian Socialists, if we

are wise enough and good enough to achieve it.

I shall be eager to help in every possible way in this direction. To this, may I not add one word with regard to the world crisis that now confronts us with reference to the war? I feel that the all important thing just now is that we should be able to formulate for the Socialist movement of the world a concrete, constructive program for internationalism and peace. In this situation, it would be quite easy to revert again to the old impossibilist position, mistake the goal of our movement for the road to the goal, refuse to co-operate with those forces that are now making for peace, and thus fail in the hour of a great opportunity.

It is this mistake I feel that it is our duty to try to prevent. By all the love that we bear for God's suffering humanity in all the nations at war, and by all the hope that we have for the final consummation of peace upon the earth, we should devote ourselves, with all our means and might, to the task of formulating, and setting before the thought of the world, the constructive measures by which we can crowd the monster of militarism out of his position of power, out of the field of activity in international politics, and finally, off of the earth entirely.

To this end, a constructive program is what we need. It will require patience and wisdom and tact. It will require a firm resolve to maintain the unity of our own movement. But we owe it to our cause, and we owe it to humanity, to do our utmost to this end.

I have never had more faith or hope in the cause of Socialism, or of humanity at large, than I have at the present hour. In spite of the unspeakable tragedy that has engulfed our eastern civilization, the star of an infinite hope still shines throughout the storm-shattered night.

Yours for the cause, Carl D. Thompson.

THE FLAW IN THE FOUNDATION

Rev. James P. Smiley.

A magnificent building was being erected. Day by day it grew higher and higher, while its vast proportions and architectural grandeur attracted universal admiration.

But one day a lad, walking past with his father, fixed his special attention upon the foundation. He observed that it consisted of ten immense monoliths, dexterously cut and close-fitting, making one solid base. They were numbered, and also upon each was

whole foundation may soon give way and then the magnificent building will collapse."

The frightened accents of the lad at last attracted attention. Especially the lady who had before advised him to "look up," now became thoroughly alarmed. She was particularly distressed about the break in stone VII, as it had been solemnly dedicated to woman.

As a consequence of the alarm now awakened, a committee of citizens was appointed to correct the breaks. This committee was called "The Social Service Commission." In the

cided that the gaping rents could be plastered up and polished, and then the superstructure could be triumphantly completed.

At the instance of the women, the new Building Committee addressed itself first to repairing Stone VII, and enthusiastically plastered the crevices. In the meanwhile, the boy noticed that the rent in Stone VIII was widening, and communicating its crack to all the other stones. "Plaster and polish will never cure this trouble," he protested. "The stones positively must be renewed."

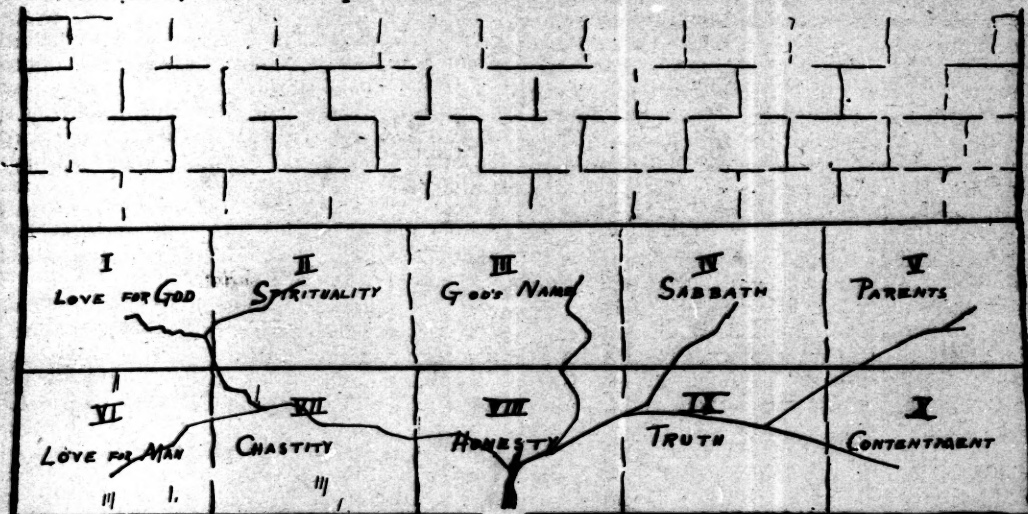
This radical view was at first condemned even by many of the women. The press and the pulpit also as a rule denounced the boy or else ignored his admonitions.

But finally, when the plastered cracks continued to break out again, it was conclusively demonstrated that no patchwork could suffice. New stones, the exact duplicates of the old ones, must be carefully set in, and only then would the structure be safe. With heroic determination this fundamental change was at last consummated, and then the beautiful building was completed amid universal rejoicing.

N. B.—'Tis passing strange that hosts of Christians are blind to the way in which Capitalism is systematically robbing the working class, and by this widespread breach of the VIIIth Commandment, is undermining our whole Civilization.

TWO REMARKABLE ARTICLES

Both the long articles in this issue, "Socialism and Charity" and "The Hero of Constantinople," deserve special attention and careful study. Most people are astounded when they read the fiery radicalism of the early Christian fathers, and see how utterly unlike it is to the customary idea of the "saint" in history. Constantinople's chief Christian figure is undoubtedly the rugged hermit of the Lebanon cave who became Patriarch of the most luxuriously corrupt city in Europe. His history will give a new feeling toward the Cathedral of Sancta Sophia—although the structure which now stands is a later one, built by Justinian a century and a half after Chrysostom, near the same site. Comrade Girelius' views on Charity are significant and powerful.



chiseled a separate inscription setting forth a basic principle of civilization.

As he stood admiring these huge stones, the boy suddenly gave a cry of disappointment: "Oh, Father, that lowest middle stone is cracked."

"Hush!" replied the father, impatiently, while the by-standers frowned upon the child. "He's a little pessimist," sneered a portly citizen wearing flashing diamonds.

"Look up, child," advised a kind lady, "at the splendor towering above our heads."

But the boy's attention could not be diverted from the flaw. "O, Father," he persisted, "suppose the beautiful building should fall. See, it is the very central stone that is so badly cracked. And look—oh horrors!—the crack is spreading to stones VII. and VI. and IV. The

animated discussion which ensued, some attributed the faults in the foundation to the fact that women had been excluded from the Building Committee. Of course, this suggestion was stoutly combated by the ultra-conservatives as an unthinkable sentiment, and quite a squabble ensued. Woman's right to participation in the building operations won the day, however, for the cracks in the stones were becoming more menacing, and the public mind felt something radical must be done and that perhaps after all the male sex was only half of civilization and some of them were only half civilized. As in Eden's cultivation so in 20th century culture, man needed an "helpmeet." This logic was irresistible. Ways and means of repairing the stones were now warmly discussed. It was at length de-

Conference Issues Call for World-Wide Peace

The Christian Socialist Fellowship of America, assembled in its ninth General Conference in Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A., February 23 to 28, 1915, sends greetings to all persons and organizations desiring Peace throughout the world.

We face the breakdown of civilization. In the fierce flame of the European conflict, International Socialism is being throttled, international Christianity has shown itself weak and nerveless, and international science has gone mad.

Our nation stands upon the brink of that fearful abyss in which Europe has been engulfed, and evil forces are even now at work undermining our standing place.

Commercial competition lies at the root of this war, as of all wars. Behind the clash of contending armies lie the hostile interests of national capitalist groups, seeking to safeguard their "commercial integrity," their "national honor," their "manifest destiny" by the sacrifice of lives, homes, and uncountable fortunes for the seizure and control of commercial advantages.

There is no possible cure for military war but the abolition of commercial war. Competition breeds war just as surely as filth breeds disease. But wherever co-operation succeeds competition, peace follows upon war.

International co-operation—that is to say, Socialism—means universal and eternal peace; and only by the principles of Socialism can this peace be made secure.

Appeal to the Church

All thoughtful men now understand that something is radically wrong with human society. Half the world is engaged in bloody conflict, while the other half stands in hourly danger of being drawn into that awful whirlpool of mutual murder. In neutral nations distress almost as great prevails. The strange paradox confronts us that the greater is our national prosperity, the greater is the number of those that suffer from unemployment and all its attendant evils.

These absurd conditions force upon religion a duty, and challenge it to action. If religion is more than a myth or a poetic sentiment, its primary duty is to solve man's vital problems. No palliatives can suffice, while the world is suffering with so desperate and far-spreading a disease.

We believe that vital religion holds the solution of every human difficulty. Yet until now religion has failed to demonstrate this power. It has labored under the false opinion that individualistic piety can save society.

Wickedness is cunningly organized, and is treading the world under its iron heel. Capitalism and militarism reign supreme, because "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light"—they know how to organize.

The children of light must learn the paramount value of organization. They cannot afford to wait, however, for unity of religious creed. Social Justice is now the crying need of the world, and they must unite for that and unite now. Despotism and tyranny will flee before a united humanity.

Where is the uniting power? There is but one effective force in sight, and before it all visionary theories vanish as the mists before the rising sun. That one uniting power is Socialism.

Socialism—that is, Industrial Democracy—will redeem the world from poverty and wrong by destroying forever the taproot of these evils—Capitalism.

Yet to all this material distress of the world is added the painful indifference of religious people, not to individual suffering, but to social wrongs. While Socialism offers the only solution with promise, the vast majority of avowedly religious people maintain an attitude of ignorance or agnosticism toward social justice as blameworthy as ignorance or agnosticism toward religion.

The Church must awake! A strong clear

message is demanded of her. "If the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare him for the battle?" Socialism is the economic expression of religion; and church people are repudiating this most valuable ally at the time when it is most needed.

We know that the unfriendly attitude of the Church has in some instances driven Socialists to the extreme of professed atheism; but we believe that such professed atheism is largely a temporary malady provoked by the circumstances; and if the Church will but fulfil the meaning of her belief and join wholeheartedly in the war of God against Mammon, those now calling themselves atheists will be her most ardent champions.

To the Socialists of the World

Comrades: The time is ripe for Socialism and peace. In consequence of this frightful cataclysm of war, men are looking more and more for its cause, and are finding it in the ceaseless industrial conflict, with all its progeny of unemployment, poverty, starvation, industrial disease and industrial murder. Thoughtful men are looking more and more favorably toward Socialism as the only solution of all social problems.

Socialism is in the air, and millions in both hemispheres are ready for conversion to this great and sacred cause. This condition furnishes us with a wonderful opportunity. Hence we must be prepared patiently to educate inquirers and cordially to welcome converts. A grave danger threatening our progress lies in ill-advised speech. Let us, therefore, avoid needless offense.

While Socialism is essentially a system of economic government, its justice appeals to us Christians as an integral part of our religion, and we sincerely believe that true religion cannot fully achieve its aims without Socialism as its economic basis. We are therefore, banded together to carry this message of Socialism to the churches; not confusing the movement with undesirable alliances, but assisting it with a deserved religious sanction. We are gratified that our purpose is becoming better understood, and we crave the closest possible co-operation with all Socialist workers or organizations.

Conclusion

We appeal, therefore, to all men and women and to all organizations wherever found and by whatever name they are called, who are interested in this great cause of human justice, to unite in a common purpose. Let us not allow differences on irrelevant or minor points to imperil or hamper our united action for universal peace.

IRWIN ST. J. TUCKER,
WILLIAM TAPPAN,
JAMES L. SMILEY.

CHARLES G. GIRELIUS, Committee.
Secretary of Conference.

AUTHENTICITY OF SLATER'S QUOTATION FROM LINCOLN

By Rev. George W. Slater, Jr.

Several have inquired as to the genuineness and authenticity of the alleged quotation from Abraham Lincoln in my article in the Emancipation Number, as follows:

"I see a crisis approaching that unnerves me. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed."

I first got this from the bottom of the fifth page of a pamphlet entitled "What Socialists Are Doing in Milwaukee," published by Comrade J. W. Wells, 220 Kearney street, San Francisco, Cal. About three years ago, when in Harrisburg, Pa., I was in the State House, looking over some old records, and found this quotation as I have it; but did not think to get the author's name.

A few weeks ago I met Comrade F. E. Miller, Grand Junction, Mich., Captain and Major

in the 62nd Colored Infantry, known as the Boy Captain, who fought probably in the last battle of the Civil War at Palmetto Branch, Texas. He said that Lincoln made this statement in the course of a conversation, and not in a speech.

For the above reasons I do not think the quotation spurious, and shall continue research until I establish its genuineness and authenticity beyond a doubt.

BISHOP JONES ATTACKS POLICY OF MISSION BOARD

Dear Comrades:

It is encouraging to know that such a conference as that of the Christian Socialist Fellowship is meeting, and that everywhere people are beginning to see that Christianity and Capitalism can no more be associated than God and Mammon.

I wish that I could be with you to gain the inspiration that is bound to come from such meetings; for our work for the Social Revolution is only just begun, and we need courage and determination to carry on the great work.

Do you realize that the Church is consciously preaching Capitalism? The book adopted for the Mission Study Classes of the Church this year, and endorsed by the Board of Missions, is the "Social Aspects of Foreign Missions." It sounds as if it were a step in the right direction; but when called upon to lead a class, not long ago, I found that the "Suggestions to Leaders," published by our own board to accompany the book, actually enumerated as "American characteristics of such value as to be worthy of imitation in all parts of the world," the following:

1. "Individual Initiative." (I would raise the question whether the co-operative action of the Chinese in their revolution was not better than the individual initiative the Christian Mexicans are showing in theirs.)

2. "National Ambition." (The cause of the European conflict!)

3. "The Competitive Spirit in Commerce." (Shades of Karl Marx!)

4. "The Spirit of Equality and Fraternity." (If by that is meant the kind practised in our civilization, it would be a doubtful blessing.)

Think of it, in this year of our Lord! If that is the best we can offer to our Chinese and Japanese Comrades, we had better keep our missionaries at home.

There is still plenty of work for the Fellowship to do, until such a point of view in our books shall be impossible.

May you all have strength and courage to meet the task and win.

Faithfully yours,
PAUL JONES, Bishop of Utah.

GREETINGS FROM ELIOT WHITE

Dear Comrades:

I send hereby cordial and fraternal wishes for the success of the Conference. It seems to me that Socialism is coming more and more to its own. Of course you saw what Bishop Guerry of the Episcopal Church said in his sermon at the consecration of Bishop Hulse of Cuba in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York? It has been an inspiration to me, and I wrote to tell him so. It is fine and true, and the call of real Christian statesmanship.*

Congratulations on the paper. The Bishop Spalding Special alone was more than justification for all your hard labor. Please give my fraternal greetings to my fellow jailbird, Irwin Tucker.** Fraternally yours,

ELIOT WHITE.

*Published elsewhere in this issue.

**Heartily reciprocated.—I. T.

\$10 PRIZE FOR NON-SOCIALIST

J. B. Gay, of Columbus, Texas, offers a prize of ten dollars for the best article favoring Socialism written by a proven non-Socialist. The idea is that if a non-Socialist can be induced to study the problem, he will become a Socialist. A Socialist committee is to be the judge, and articles will be received up to May 1, 1915.

Of your conversation, let this be the nub: "Let me write your name, friend, on the SUB CLUB STUB."

Whether in a smoking-room, parlor, street or "Pub." Always look for Converts to the SUB CLUB.

Bishop Guerry for Christian Socialism

Rt. Rev. Wm. A. Guerry, Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina, at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, at Consecration of Bishop Hulse of Cuba, said:

"No Church and no body of religious leaders calling themselves American can any longer afford to ignore this great worldwide movement of Socialism, or to be ignorant of its underlying principles. Our duty is to study with sympathy and insight and to endeavor to understand it, in order that we may save it from being, as it too often is, a movement divorced from Christianity. This is our opportunity for spiritual leadership to great masses of American workingmen, because the leading exponents of Socialism in this country tell us that what the movement lacks is that emotional fervor and that uncalculating devotion to an ideal which the Church alone can give. Every great cause must have back of it and within it what has been called the uplifting power of a great passion. In a word, the opportunity is presented to us in this country of allying Socialism with Christianity."

AN OPEN DOOR

By Rev. George W. Slater, Special Secretary to Colored Race for Christian Socialist Fellowship

That a door is being opened to the colored people for the message of Socialism, is evident. During my recent trip to the General Conference of the C. S. F. and return, my reception among the colored convinced me of this fact beyond a doubt.

February 14th, Sunday, I spoke in Chicago. In the morning, at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church, Rev. E. C. Lawrence, pastor; audience about 200; very intelligent and progressive. Eight p. m., at Bethel A. M. E. Church, my home church; Dr. Smyth, pastor; audience about 1,000. My message was well received at both, especially at Bethel, the result being some of the leaders of the church and congregation subscribed for The Christian Socialist and bought pamphlets.

February 19th, Friday, Hubbard, Ohio. Here I was very pleasantly entertained by Comrades Hibler and Rader. During the day comrades and myself visited the colored families, inviting them personally to the meeting, and leaving a piece of literature. There are but few colored people in the city, but the response was good. We had a good turnout, largely non-Socialist; had an interesting tilt with a non-Socialist, with Socialism winning, as usual. The comrades seemed pleased with result of meeting. Audience 150.

February 21st, Steubenville, Ohio, at Simpson M. E. Church, Rev. Tyndall, pastor; audience 200. Two-thirty p. m., Toronto, Ohio; open air meeting; audience 300; good meeting. Eight o'clock p. m., Steubenville, at A. M. E. Church, Dr. Farley, pastor, a very scholarly West Indian; audience of 600 carried away with message.

At Baltimore, seat of the General Conference, there were grand meetings among the colored people. At some of them you would have thought you were in a camp meeting, from the shouts of approval and Amens.

February 24th, Wednesday, Sharon Baptist Church, Dr. William Alexander, pastor (for 32 years); rainy night; audience 100. Distributed C. S. and sold literature. Pastor and people begged me to return. They minister to 1,000 colored people.

February 26th, Friday, Bethel A. M. E. Church. It was understood I was not to speak until late, after a quarterly conference. It was after 10 o'clock before I got to speak, but the people re-

mained and listened patiently and enthusiastically for forty-five minutes. Took all the C. S. I had. Pastor subscribed for the C. S. and begged me to preach for him Sunday. I did so Sunday night, to an audience of about 500. They almost fought for copies of the Lincoln number of the C. S.

February 28th, Sunday a. m., Grace Presbyterian Church, Dr. Williams, pastor; a very intelligent audience of about 250, among them the principal of the high school and several teachers. There was marked approval of our message, especially from the pastor.

At 2:30 p. m., at St. John's A. M. E. Church, Dr. Briscoe, pastor. This was an anniversary meeting of the Brotherhood of Ushers of the Colored Churches; audience about 600, mostly men of solid piety and progress. Here we had to pause many times on account of applause and approval, and when we finished, some got into the aisles and fairly shouted for several minutes. Two hundred C. S. were fairly licked up, and they wanted more.

March 1st, Monday, Trinity A. M. E. Church, Dr. Johnson, pastor; audience of about 250 splendid people. Comrade Fleagle and other comrades were present. We sold several pamphlets. All seemed to accept our message. One very popular and venerable colored minister took exceptions to some of our interpretations of Scripture. However, he is favorably interested in our propaganda and bought literature and subscribed for the C. S. He is the representative for Baltimore for the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, which publishes The Crisis (40,000 subscribers).

February 22d and March 1, I spoke before the Methodist and Baptist Ministerial Association. Had only a few minutes, but made good with the message. They gave an urgent invitation to return.

March 2d, Salem, Ohio; pay lecture in a hall; audience 200, with several colored men and women present. Splendid impression made here. Since coming home I have received an invitation by the local to return again in April. Comrade Boenall spared no pains to make it pleasant and profitable for me. After the meeting, Rev. Anderson of the Disciples' Church of Sebring, Ohio, invited me to stop off next day and visit him a few hours. He is a scholarly gentleman, preaching Socialism to his people, although not yet a member of the party nor the C. S. F. He subscribed for the C. S.

March 3d, Canton, Ohio. Comrade Cook and other comrades, against many other attractions, had an audience of about 150, but only two colored peo-

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Order of The Christian Socialist.

They were having revival meetings in that city. March 4th, Massillon; good audience of about 200. Here we met for the first time Mr. Cooney of "Cooney Army" fame—a good-looking old man; no tramp, as one would suppose from newspaper reports. After lecture, had spirited debate with a labor leader whether the working men would have more sense and courage under Socialism than now. We convinced him that they would have. They are having a strike there.

March 5th, Kenmore. Comrade Nica and wife entertained us most pleasantly. His father—a comrade—is mayor. It was a pay lecture; bad, rainy night, but about 100 present, mostly non-Socialist. For over an hour they listened with the closest attention. No colored people in the city. The comrades said that we had done the same good service.

March 7th, Columbus, Ohio, A. M. E. Church, Dr. Gilliam, pastor; audience about 250. Two-thirty p. m., Labor Lyceum; not well advertised—about 50 present. Had a happy time with the comrades. A reporter from the State Journal was present and gave the address a good writeup. Eight p. m., M. E. Church, Dr. White, pastor; audience 500 people, several comrades present. Audience carried away with the message, and comrades pleased.

March 8th, Muncie, Ind., A. M. E. Church, Dr. Baker, an acquaintance of many years. Comrade Ross D. Brown worked hard to make it a success. The comrades turned out well, but few colored people; audience 50. We opened the eyes of the colored people to Socialism from the Bible standpoint. Rev. S. C. Garrison, comrade, came down from Montpelier, Ind., to have a talk with me about aggressive work among the colored people. He sees the same as I do, that if we had the means we could do effective work among our people.

March 9th, Dixon, Ill. This was primary election and had its effects on meeting at night, as comrades did not do as well as they had expected. Several colored people were present; attendance about 50. Comrade Brooks and brother are very active spirits in the movement. After the lecture, several of the colored people took me to one of their homes and made it very pleasant for me until train time for home.

[Note.—If the comrades will subscribe about \$50.00 per month, we can send Comrade Slater on a great organizing tour through the South among colored people, and keep him in the field. What do you say?—E. E. C.]

WHICH RULE?

By Robert Love

(The motto of The Christian Socialist is "The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold.")

I say, shall we rule by the Golden Rule, or the Rule of Gold that

So mightily human interests now in the haun commercial days?
Shall a man be a man in the sense God meant when he made in his

image his,
Out of the drifting dust of the earth, the human form divine?
Or shall he be as a broken clod for the growing of other men's grain?

I say, shall we rule by the law of God, or the law of might and main?

Shall we grind men's bones in the money-mills, in the gormandis

Unheeding the cry of the crushed-out lives and the blood of the hearts

Shall a man be clay in the hands of his kind, and bound to the potter's

Or an agent free to aspire and attain to the goal of the spirit's soul?

Shall we make him as ore in the ingot stamp, as a cog in the conquer-

I say, shall we sway by the gold of love, or the love of gold that kills?

Shall we bid men's souls to the barren rock for the venturesome

For the buzzards of lustful loot to pick, till the soul be withered away?

Shall a man be booty for men more strong, be prize for the pirate's

Or a craft to sail all seas of hope on his own unsharpened truck?

Shall we make him an admiral on the bridge, or a slave in the galley's

I say, shall we rule by the Golden Rule, or rule by the Rule of Gold?

The SUB Club Stub

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